University of Alberta

Exploring Hope:
A Journey with Tanzanian Adolescents in a School Setting

by

Sophie Yohani Parkins

A thesis

submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

in

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Protecting and investing in the physical, mental, and emotional development of all children is the foundation of a better future, the end and the means of progress, the very foundation for economic development and social cohesion. - UNICEF

Nothing within the circle fades. Time, it seems, is powerless here-loses its authority and casts no shadows. Each of these lives is equal in its moment with each of the lives that surrounds it-all of them reaching out together through the camera's lens to meet the common gaze that greets them.
- Timothy Findley, The Piano Man's Daughter

To John Russell Parkins

For supporting my hoping self

Abstract

This thesis presents three papers exploring hope with Tanzanian secondary-school adolescents. The first paper examined hope by assessing 44 (23 female and 21 male) adolescents using Snyder's Hope Scale. Findings appear to replicate those done with same aged children and adults in the United States. The second paper explored the experiences of hope as represented in photographs taken by Tanzanian (N= 20) adolescents in a school-based hope project. Fifteen photo-assisted interviews were subsequently conducted and analyzed, and portraits of four girls are presented to give voice to their specific experiences of hope. Results suggest that hope is closely related to education and community. Positive contact with members of their community appears to instill hope which in turn fuels personal development. The third paper examined photo-assisted interviews as a potentially effective method of data gathering in qualitative inquiry particularly with children and adolescents in school settings. Drawing on studies with children and adolescents that utilized photography, theory that suggests its usefulness, and recent experiences in Tanzania, recommendations are suggested for best facilitation of photo-assisted interviews as part of qualitative research.

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I would like to thank the Hope Foundation of Alberta, Canada for providing me with support and funding for conducting the school-based hope project in Tanzania. I thank Dr. Ronna Jevne, who has been a representation of hope to me throughout the research process and in the two years of my Masters program. I also thank my committee members, Dr. Fern Snart and Dr. Marg Iveson for their willingness to support and guide me through the journey or exploring hope with adolescents in school settings. I thank the principal and vice principal who welcomed me and provided me with permission and support throughout my time at their school. Thanks to all the participants in the two hope studies who were willing to befriend me and share their experiences of hope. Last but not least, to my parents in Tanzania and Canada, thank you for your loving support in seeing me through yet another milestone in my life. And John, for always being there. Asanteni sana - Thank you very much.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Hope is a concept we refer to on a daily basis yet little is known about this human condition. Theologians, medical doctors, and psychologists have written extensively about the importance of hope as an antecedent for psychological and physical well-being, and researchers find hope to be essential for coping in difficult and uncertain situations (Dufault & Martocchio, 1984; Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995; Jevne, 1991; Snyder, 1995). In one of her poems, Emily Dickinson (1830-1886) wrote:

> Hope is the thing with feathers
> That perches in the soul
> And sings the tune without words
> And never stops - at all

Dickinson reveals the elusive and intangible nature of hope. Does it emerge from our souls, as Dickinson implies? Is it part of our cognitive make up? Do we learn to hope or is it part of our basic human nature? The abstract and elusive nature of this concept appears to be the main reason why academics struggle to measure and develop a unifying definition of hope.

Hope, as an important emotion, has not been explored in school settings. If indeed hope is valuable for our well-being as humans, then surely hope is an essential requirement for school children. Children and adolescents who are disadvantaged due to poverty, disabilities (learning, physical and mental), illnesses or trauma caused by social catastrophes such as war are especially at risk of developing educational, emotional and

behavioral problems. Such children are also at risk of experiencing a lack of hope in their lives. It would seem that within school settings, such children will not be able to function adequately, and in turn, not be "available" psychologically to learn effectively. On the other hand, Brooks observes that resilient children, that is children with the capacity to bounce back from adversity and failure, "appear to maintain a high level of self-esteem, a realistic sense of personal control, and a feeling of hope" (1994, p. 546).

I am interested in school-children's experiences of hope and how hope affects their ability to face the expectations placed upon them in school as well as home environments. I am particularly interested in the experiences of hope among children we often term "at risk" due to circumstances ranging from poverty (causing lack of opportunities, affecting health), discriminatory practises in various societies, disabilities (both physical and mental), and psychological trauma. How can we as practitioners help these children if we do not know about the value of hope -- their hope and our own? I believe that knowing whether they have hope, and what hope is for them, is one step towards effective intervention when working with such children in their school years and during their future as adults.

Brooks (1994) asserts that focusing on strengths does not imply ignorance of vulnerabilities, but instead broadens our perceptions to include the positive attributes of children:

> Such a focus creates an atmosphere in which blame and accusation give way to compassion and understanding, in which all parties (parents, school, neighbourhood and community agencies) are encouraged to work closely together, in which caregivers receive the support and education required to

> help children, and in which caregivers are empowered to appreciate their own immense potential for positively influencing the life of a child (p. 509).

This thesis represents the very beginning stages toward understanding the complex and elusive nature of hope in children and adolescents. Being that this research is exploratory, both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to examine hope in adolescents. This thesis is based in my home country, Tanzania where no known studies on the concept of hope have been conducted.

Exploring Hope with Adolescents in a School Setting

This thesis consists of three papers exploring hope with adolescents in an educational setting in Tanzania, East Africa. The first paper titled *Assessing hope: Snyder's Hope Scale in a Tanzanian classroom* (Parkins, 1997) is an exploratory study assessing hope in 44 (23 female and 21 male) adolescents in a Tanzanian school using the Snyder Hope Scale (Snyder, 1995). The objectives of the study were: (1) To begin to assess the applicability of Snyder's hope theory and measure in a school and cross-cultural setting, and (2) To explore differences in scores based on gender, race, and religion. The second paper is titled *Images of hope: Tanzanian teenage girls' experiences of hope in an educational setting* (Parkins, 1997). This paper extends the first study by reporting findings from a second exploratory study about the experiences of hope as represented in photographs taken by adolescents in a Tanzanian classroom. Twenty secondary school students between the ages of 14 and 17 years participated in a school-based project where

this paper, the experiences of 4 girls are portrayed to give the reader insight into the specific experiences of selected adolescents.

I discovered the idea of exploring hope through a school-based project during discussions with my thesis advisor, Dr. Ronna Jevne, who told me about a successful hope project using photography and other creative means with Fourth Grade students in an inner city school in Edmonton, Alberta. Since my background in education includes training in teaching, I saw that such a project would be a way of bringing my interest in Psychology and Education together in an applicable research-based project. Previous research in Tanzania with street children had shown me the importance of hope and the potential of using visual images in facilitating research (Yohani, 1995). Soon after, Dr. Jevne was approached by another teacher interested in running a similar project at a rural school in Alberta. I was introduced to this teacher and proceeded to co-facilitate a school-based hope project for twenty teenagers (between ages 13 to 17) in a special education classroom. During the period of my involvement in the aforementioned project, I had the opportunity to visit my home country of Tanzania where I ran a similar school-based hope project. This Tanzanian study eventually became the focus of my thesis.

The third paper, titled *Photo-assisted interviews: A method for qualitative inquiry with children and adolescents*, introduces photo-assisted interviews as an effective method of qualitative inquiry, particularly with children and adolescents in educational settings. Incorporating photography taken by participants as part of qualitative interviews makes for an enjoyable and rewarding study both for the

settings. Incorporating photography taken by participants as part of qualitative interviews makes for an enjoyable and rewarding study both for the researcher and the participants. Photography is not only an enjoyable experience for participants but also enhances rapport with participants, thereby ensuring a degree of heightened trustworthiness in the findings. Drawing on studies with children and adolescents that utilized photography, and theory that suggests usefulness, an argument is established for the value of photo-assisted interviews. Based on these findings, and my recent experiences using this method, recommendations are suggested to facilitate photo-assisted interviews as part of qualitative research.

Study findings discussed in the first paper indicate that it is possible to measure hope in a school setting in a different cultural context. However, the question arises as to whether Snyder's basic definition and conceptual framework used in the measure are applicable to the Tanzanian context. Furthermore, although initial findings suggest no differences in hope scores by race, gender and religion, and overall scores are fairly high, further research will need to be conducted with a larger sample before clear insight into this issue can be gained. Results from the second study (second paper) give more insight into the conceptualization of hope for the Tanzanian adolescents and suggest that hope is closely related to community and education for the Tanzanian students. Positive contact with members of their community appears to instill hope in the Tanzanian adolescents which in turn fuels personal development.

I confirmed questions raised in paper one using photo-assisted interviews (in paper two) that hope does indeed involve having a future-oriented goal. However, the goal of education also seems to be presently embedded in the form of encouragement and support from friends, family and teachers. This experiential nature of hope in Tanzanian adolescents adds another aspect to Snyder's (1995) model of hope resulting in a conceptualization that is closer to multidimensional views of hope (Dufault & Martocchio, 1984; Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995; Jevne, 1991). Paper three suggests that photo-assisted interviewing is a potentially valuable method for studying abstract concepts such as hope with children and adolescents.

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Chapter 2

Assessing Hope: Snyder's Hope Scale in a Tanzanian Classroom

Hope, as an essential requirement in experiences of physical and emotional well-being, has recently drawn the attention of researchers in the areas of health psychology and nursing. Although considered an elusive concept, which renders it difficult to measure and fit within a unifying definition, these researchers agree that hope is essential to the well-being and coping of individuals in difficult situations. The value of hope in times of uncertainty suggests why most hope research has been conducted with individuals who are either terminally ill, chronically ill, or recovering from illnesses. Such studies have focused on cancer patients (Dufault and Martocchio, 1985; Ersek, 1992; Hinds & Martin, 1988; Owen, 1989), terminally ill individuals (Hall, 1990; Herth, 1990) and substance abusers (Hinds, 1984, 1988).

Little is known about the value or experiences of hope for individuals in other settings, such as academic classrooms. How does hope affect one's ability to perform at school? What is the role of hope in learning? Smith (1983) maintains that hope is a pre-requisite for achieving a fulfilled adulthood and since most childhood and adolescent years are spent in school, it becomes important to understand the value of, or to evaluate the presence of, hope among children and adolescents in a school environment. This information is especially crucial when considering youth at risk of failing or dropping out

of school, particularly when such youth are residing in societies with limited opportunities other than those resulting from a good education.

In this study, I attempted to assess the hope of forty-four adolescents in a Tanzanian (East Africa) classroom using Snyder's Hope Scale (1995). The objectives of this study were twofold: (1) to apply a hope measurement in a school environment and cross-cultural setting; and (2) to explore differences in levels of hope based on race, gender and religion. Snyder's model of hope is used as a basis for conceptualizing and measuring hope (Snyder et. al., 1991; Snyder, 1993, 1994, 1995) to determine if there are differences in hope based on gender, religion and race in a particular classroom. Although limited by a small number of participants (N = 44), results of this exploratory study may be used to build on Snyder's theory of hope and to evaluate the possibility of conducting a larger study with the aim of obtaining relevant norms for the *Snyder Hope Scale* in the Tanzanian context.

Study Setting

This study took place at a private secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, the capital city of Tanzania. Like all education institutions in Tanzania, this school employs a British educational system comprising four years of study leading to an Ordinary Level Certificate (O'Level) and two additional years leading to an Advanced Level Certificate (A'Level). In the first two years of secondary school, students take courses in all subjects and after the completion of a national exam, they are streamed into Sciences or Arts. At the end of four years, all students in Tanzania sit for a national exam (O'Level) which determines entrance

into high school (Forms Five and Six). At this level, students take a total of three or four courses (such as History, Geography and English Literature). Results from another national exam (A' Levels) at the end of high school determine selection to university. Much of a student's educational experience is therefore directed toward preparing for national exams at two distinct and pivotal stages. This educational setting provides an atmosphere of competitiveness and pressure on students to perform. As one goes further in the educational system, the opportunities for achieving a placement at institutions of higher learning become less and less likely. In Tanzania, the options are even more limited than other countries, with one main university with approximately 3500 students, for a population of more than 28 million. With this information in mind, hope becomes a relevant and serious concern for Tanzanian students.

Even though the school in this study is private, students are required to successfully pass an entrance exam. Once they are in, the students follow the regular Tanzanian curriculum and must succeed in order to proceed to higher levels. Unlike most secondary schools in Tanzania, this school has a diverse student body with almost equal numbers of Africans and Asians represented in Forms One through Four. The school consciously emphasizes integration by striving for equal racial representation in the classroom. In addition to racial diversity, various religions are represented in the school with the main faiths being Islam, Christianity, and Hinduism. I chose this particular school for my exploratory study for two main reasons. First, entry to conduct research in public schools generally is a longer process and permission must come first from the Tanzanian Ministry in charge. Because of limited time, I chose to approach the principal of a private

school who had the authority to make a decision on the local level. Secondly, the diversity of students provides a basis for beginning to explore differences in hope based on race, religion, and gender -- all of which have been cited as possible areas for research (Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995).

Overview of Hope Scales

The concept of hope is elusive because it can be expressed as a way of feeling (affectively), as a way of thinking (cognitively), and as a way of behaving or relating (behaviorally) (Averill, Catlin, & Chon, 1990; Dufault & Martocchio, 1985; Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995; Snyder, 1994). The lack of a unifying framework and the complexity of the hope structure is the main challenge to researchers concerned with validating findings. As a result of this challenge, two main views of hope have emerged in hope-related research; those that conceptualize hope as a unidimensional construct (Stotland 1969; Snyder, 1993) and those that conceptualize hope as a multidimensional construct (Dufault & Martocchio, 1985; Hinds, 1984; Obayuwana & Carter, 1982; Owen, 1989). Based on these various models, a number of hope scales have emerged to measure hope in various settings (Herth, 1991, 1992; Hinds, 1988; Nowotny, 1989; Snyder, 1994, 1995).

A review of hope scales conducted by Farran, Hearth and Popovich (1995) revealed that most of these scales operationalize hope models for specialized populations ranging from persons with psychopathological conditions to drug-addicted youth. For the most part, testing was carried out on English speaking subjects in the United States. Furthermore, these instruments reveal varying levels of psychometric development rendering them difficult to use due to limited information on reliability and validity. For

example most of the instruments need further research in order to rigorously evaluate validity (specifically construct and predictive validity) and demographic and cultural biases (Farran, Hearth and Popovich, 1995). Also, many hope scales lack reliable and valid measures of hope for children and adolescents.

Two researchers have explored hope in adolescents and children (Hinds 1984, 1988; Snyder, 1993) and have subsequently developed measures. By using a grounded theory research method, Hinds defined hope as "the degree to which an adolescent believes that a personal tomorrow exists" (p.360). This belief spans four hierarchical levels proceeding from lower levels of specifically forced effort, to the increasingly higher levels of personal possibilities, expectation of a better tomorrow and anticipation of a personal future. Based on this definition, Hinds (1988) later developed The *Hopefulness Scale for Adolescents* (HSA), a 24-item visual analogue scale intended to quantify the amount of self-reported hopefulness an adolescent possesses at the time of measurement. Despite promising reports as a potential instrument for measuring hope in adolescents, psychometric evaluation of this instrument is still limited and further research needs to be conducted to measure its construct validity. Specifically, the HSA was developed mostly from interviews with adolescents being treated for substance abuse, which makes its construct validity questionable for the general population.

Snyder's Hope Model

For the purpose of this study, I chose Snyder's (1991, 1993, 1994, 1995) model and measure of hope (Snyder Hope Scale) to assess hope in adolescents in a Tanzanian

classroom. Snyder's model was developed by building upon previous theories that postulate hope as unidimensional, involving a perception that a goal can be met (Stotland, 1969). From this model, a measure was developed and initially tested on college students. Despite various criticisms of unidimensional models (Herth, 1991; Hinds & Martin, 1988; Obayuwana & Carter, 1982), I chose the Hope Scale because of the evidence of stronger psychometric validity, and the fact that it is straightforward to administer in a classroom setting.

Snyder defines hope as "a cognitive set that is based on a reciprocally derived sense of successful (a) agency (goal-directed determination) and (b) pathways (planning of ways to meet goals)" (Snyder, 1995, p. 355). Additionally, Snyder conceptualizes hope as phenomenological in nature since it depends upon the cognitive appraisal of a person's goal-related capabilities. According to this model, emotions are reflected by a person's perceived level of hope in a particular situation. For example, Snyder explains that a person with higher hope has an elevated sense of agency and pathways which in turn will cause him or her to approach a given goal with a positive emotional state, a sense of challenge, and a focus on success rather than failure. On the other hand, a person with low hope generally has an enduring perception of deficient agency and pathways which in turn leads to him or her approaching a goal with a negative emotional state, a sense of ambivalence, and a focus on failure rather than success.

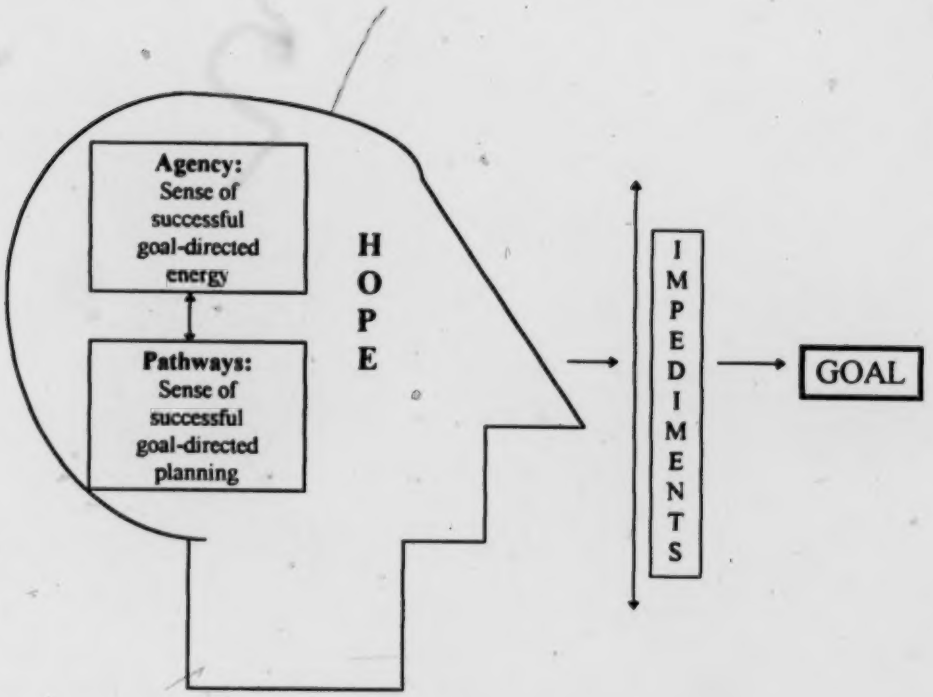

Figure 2-1. Schematic representation of Snyder's model of hope (Snyder, 1993).

Snyder's conceptualization of hope, as seen in Figure 2-1, is cognitive with mental processes aimed at future directedness (having a goal). Emotions, cited as important in hope processes by other researchers (Dufault & Martocchio, 1985; Farran Herth, & Popovich, 1995), are seen by Snyder as an outcome of hope processes (Snyder, 1995). Despite what can be viewed as limitations, the goal-oriented model of hope appears to be most useful for understanding hope in educational settings, particularly in the Tanzanian educational context where education is often directed towards meeting and successfully passing certain goals (national exams). In such settings, hope becomes important when

considering students who may be at risk of giving up or, in other words, having "low hope" of successfully passing and moving on to higher levels of education.

This study applies Snyder's Hope Scale to a group of students in a Tanzanian school. His scale has particular advantages in this setting for a number of reasons. If Snyder's measurement of hope can be used in educational settings, it can be used as a potential tool for researching how hope affects learning. Furthermore, the nature of the Hope Scale allows for easy and efficient administration in a classroom setting. Such instruments are particularly helpful for teachers in settings such as Tanzania where there are no guidance or school counsellors. The Hope Scale could possibly be used to access a student's "presence" or "availability" for learning (or, conversely, for identifying students who may be "in need").

With Snyder's theory in mind, and based on previous research with the Scale, the following hypotheses are stated and tested using the Hope Scale: (1) There are no differences in hope scores based on gender. (2) There are no differences in hope scores based on race. (3) There are no differences in hope scores based on religion. These three hypotheses are stated based on previous research by Snyder (1995) where he reports no significant differences when comparing the hope scores of different genders and races in the United States. On the same basis, one can assume that a similar hypothesis could be stated for religion as well.

Research Method

Hope Scale

The Hope Scale (Snyder 1995) is a self-report dispositional scale based on the previously mentioned theory of hope. The scale (Appendix A) is made up of twelve statements that are subsequently broken down into agency and pathways subscales. A third subscale is made up of "filler" items meant to distract the examinee and make the content of the scales less obvious. The scale uses a Likert format from 1 (definitely false) to 4 (definitely true). The total Hope Scale score is derived by adding the agency (2, 9, 10, and 12) and pathways (1, 4, 6, and 8) items. The scores a person can obtain on the Hope Scale range from 8 (associated with low hope) to 32 (high hope) with average scores being approximately 24.

In terms of psychometric properties, the Hope Scale has an acceptable internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha of .74 to .84) and test-retest reliability varying from 3 to 10 weeks, indicating stable scores (Snyder, 1995). Factor analysis of the statements identify the agency and pathways components (Snyder, 1993). Construct validity is available and concurrent validation is supported through positive correlation with measures of self-esteem, perceived problem-solving capabilities, perceptions of control in life, optimism, positive affectivity, and positive outcome expectancies (Snyder at al., 1991). Negative correlations are found with measures of hopelessness, depression, negative affectivity, anxiety, social introversion (Snyder, et al., 1991). Snyder (1995) also reports that the Hope Scale captures unique variance in predicting and understanding relevant coping

activities (Discriminant Utility). Based on these scale characteristics, the Hope Scale was chosen as a valid instrument to measure hope in this study.

It is important to note that at the time of this study, I did not have access to Snyder's Children's Hope Scale (Snyder, 1993; Snyder et. al., 1995), a potentially more appropriate scale (for children ages 8 through 16) with the age group in this study. The Children's Hope Scale is also based on Snyder's definition and model of hope but contains six items in order to maintain childrens' attention span in responding. Most of the studies conducted during it's development report that it was verified with children between ages 9 and 13. Additionally, two factor analytical studies with children between 8 and 17, and 8 and 16 used participants who were being treated for cancer (Snyder et. al., 1995). This information suggests that the Children's Hope Scale is currently more useful for younger children and clinical populations. Also the use of only three items per scale raises questions regarding validity of the instrument. Although the Children's Hope Scale could have been used in the current study, the participants in the present study are older (Grade 10) and therefore the original Hope Scale is also a useful tool for assessing their hope.

Field Entry and Ethical Considerations

The principal and vice principal granted permission to conduct this study after I explained the nature of the study, provided a letter from my supervisor, and a copy of my proposal and ethical clearance from the Department of Educational Psychology (University of Alberta). With the direction of the principal, I selected a second year (equivalent to Grade 10) classroom before being taken to meet the class. I chose a second

year class for this study based on the variety of students still represented at that level. Forty-five students (male = 23, and female = 22) composed this class with an age range of 14 to 17 years.

On the first day, I was introduced to the class and was allowed to spend some time talking to students about my research study. I explained that I was interested in learning about hope, particularly with students their age and that all information obtained would be used as part of my research. I explained the procedures for confidentiality (pseudonyms which they could choose themselves) and assured students that participation was voluntary with the added freedom of dropping out midway without repercussion.[1] Although the principal assured me that his consent to conduct the study was sufficient (the principal represents the parents in school-based research), I requested interested students to tell their parents about the study and that I would be available at the school during specific times to answer any questions.

Participants and Data Collection

On the following day, forty-four students participated in this exploratory study by filling out the Hope Scale. Table 2-1 shows the diversity of students in the classroom.

[1] A second (qualitative) study was later conducted with 20 participants who were selected from those who participated in the current study. Although not reported in this study, I talked about the second study during my first meeting with the class. The nature and results of the second study will be presented in a separate article.

Table 2-1
Respondents by subpopulations (race, religion, gender)

	Race		Religion		
Group	African	Asian	Muslim	Christian	Hindu
Female	14	9	11	10	2
Male	9	12	10	8	3
Total	23	21	21	18	5

Because I did not have access to the Children's Hope Scale, I administered the standard Hope Scale and gave some instructions to the whole class on some of the wording (The Children's Hope Scale is virtually the same as the Hope Scale except for some simplified words). For example I explained to the class (and wrote on the board) that jam means "a difficult state of affairs", that downed means "defeated" or "in a worse condition" and discourage means "to be without courage or confidence." Because English is a second language for all race and religious subpopulations in Tanzania, I translated these words into Swahili for the benefit of those who did not understand. While the students filled out the Hope Scale I remained in the classroom to answer questions. When a question was asked (this happened once), I responded by drawing the attention of the whole class, thus ensuring uniformity and some degree of consistency.

Data Analysis

On completing the Hope Scales, I analyzed the data using statistical procedures. I chose to use a Chi-square analysis which typically uses data that comprise unordered, qualitative categories, but can also be used with quantitative variables by treating intervals as categories (Minium, King, & Bear, 1993). Similarly, for this study, the total hope scores were categorized into three main groups representing Low Hope (22 and below), Average Hope (23 to 26) and High Hope (27 and above). I established these categories by using statistical quartiles of total scores whereby 22 is at the 25th percentile, 27 is at the 75th percentile, and 24 is the median. These Average hope levels are similar to those reported by Snyder based on non-clinical samples (Snyder et. al., 1991). Total hope was then compared to the three categories (race, gender, and religion) to determine any significant differences. My basis for accepting or rejecting hypotheses is the alpha (p) of < 0.05 (Minium, King, & Bear, 1993).

Findings

The findings in this study are organized into two sections. First I provide an overview of the average total hope scores, and the hope components of agency and pathways for each subpopulation. Secondly I give the results of preliminary data showing differences in hope levels (based on the Hope Scale) with regard to gender, race and religion.

Hope Scale Scores

The distribution of Hope Scale scores (pathways, agency and total scores) across the subpopulations representing gender, race and religion can be seen in Table 2-2. Total Hope scores for the classroom range from 16 to 30 with a mean of 24 and standard deviation of 3.40. The score with the highest frequency is 22 (20% of participants). Mean and median scores are fairly consistent across all subpopulations and are close to Snyder's American figures as mentioned earlier.

Table 2-2
Snyder Hope Scale mean scores by subpopulation

	Race		Religion			Gender	
Group	African	Asian	Muslim	Christian	Hindu	Female	Male
Path	12.5	12.1	12.3	12.4	12.0	11.9	12.8
Agency	11.8	12.0	12.0	11.7	12.2	12.0	11.7
Total	24.2	24.0	24.1	24.1	24.2	23.9	24.3

Hope and Gender

Hypothesis: There are no differences in hope scores based on gender.

To test the hypothesis that there is no difference in hope scores based on gender, a chi-square comparing hope scores and gender was conducted. Findings from this analysis (Table 2-3) indicate no significant difference, c^2 (2, N = 44) = 0.840, p = 0.66. This suggests that, for this group of students, males and females are generally experiencing

similar levels of hope. Therefore, the stated hypothesis that no differences in hope scores exist between genders will be retained.

Table 2-3
Crosstabulation of hope score by gender

Gender	Low	Average	High
Female	8	10	5
Male	7	7	7
Total	15	17	12

Pearson Chi-square = .84. DF =2. p = 0.66

Hope and Race

Hypothesis: There are no differences in hope scores based on race.

Table 2-4 shows a similar chi-square comparing hope scores with race (African and Asian) and indicates no significance difference between races with Asians and Africans having similar levels of hope scores, c^2 (2, N = 44) = .840, p = 0.66. Therefore the second hypothesis that there are no differences in hope scores based on religion in this classroom is supported.

Table 2-4
Crosstabulation of hope score by race

Race	Low	Average	High
African	8	10	5
Asian	7	7	7
Total	15	17	12

Pearson Chi-square = 0.84. DF = 2. p = 0.66

Hope and Religion

Hypothesis: There are no differences in hope scores based on religion.

Likewise, when comparing hope scores to religion (Table 2-5), no significance difference is noted between Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, $c^2(4, N = 44) = 2.30$, $p = 0.66$. This result supports the hypothesis that there are no differences in hope scores based on religion in this classroom.

Table 2-5
Crosstabulation of hope score by religion

Religion	Low	Average	High
Muslim	6	8	7
Christian	7	8	3
Hindu	2	1	2
Total	15	17	12

Pearson Chi-square = 2.30, DF = 4, p = 0.68

Discussion

This exploratory study applied the Hope Scale (Snyder, 1995) in a Tanzanian secondary school classroom and examined, through statistical analyses, potential differences in scores based on gender, race or religion. The results of the study indicate that there are no significant differences when comparing hope scores to either of the three categories. It is interesting to note that the value of significance (p-value) is extremely high in all three analyses, suggesting that a similar trend may be evident in the larger

population. However, given that this is an exploratory study these results should be accepted with caution because of the small number of participants (N = 44) and thus a larger sample may indicate some differences. Furthermore, some cases (e.g religion) had very few cell counts (less than the preferred 5) and therefore validity may be affected.

These findings appear to replicate other studies using the Hope Scale in the United States. Snyder (1995) reported that studies comparing hope scores with gender found no significant differences. Similar results were found when comparing hope scores to race. Originally, Snyder assumed that societal pressures upon individuals are likely to have an adverse effect on a person's hope. For example, women, minorities, and individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds may have lower hope because of discriminatory practises in society (pathways would be blocked). On the contrary, current research findings with adults and children suggest no difference based on race and gender. Although these results are preliminary and further research is required before substantive conclusions are drawn, hope from Snyder's perspective may not be affected by discriminatory practises in the larger social setting. Hope, instead, may be affected by individual responses to stressors. This phenomenological perspective of hope appears to be more congruent with recent explanations of Snyder's hope model. In other words, it is how one person reacts to adversity that determines whether they possess a high degree of hope or not.

The results of this study are encouraging since they indicate that a majority of students in this study experience average levels of hope based on the Hope Scale (Snyder, 1995). This information may reflect the nature of the school setting and situation of the

students compared to others their age in public schools or rural school settings. Snyder's model emphasizes a cognitive process in which a person is able to envision a goal and access ways of reaching it. Since most of the students have parents who are able to pay for private schooling, it would appear that they are probably more likely to have goals and the assurance of support or means to reach them. In this sense, it is probably easier for a person to have goals when other experiences suggest goal achievement is possible.

Reflections on the process of field entry and data collection all suggest that using the Hope Scale in this school setting was appropriate. With regard to field entry, the principal granted study permission, understood what was requested, and became interested in the idea of studying hope in his school. Clearly, a study of this nature may not be easy for school leaders in Tanzania to understand since most schools do not offer guidance or counselling services of any kind. In fact the principal of this school told me of a recent visitor from the United States who gave a workshop to teachers on the importance of life-skills classes, a topic they had never heard before. Having recent encouragement in this regard, I believe, made my entry into the school easier.

The actual administration of the Hope Scale proved to be a fairly uncomplicated task. By reading the instructions to the class, I was able to ask the students if they understood the directions. To ensure reliability, I had a few students explain to the class what they understood. An example of a question that I answered before they began is "can I write 3 and 4 if I think I am in between?" I answered questions that arose during the actual scale completion to the whole class thus ensuring uniform understanding. None of these questions revealed a fundamental misunderstanding of the meaning of the

statements or directions. The students took about 15 minutes to complete the Hope Scale confirming the relative simplicity of administering the scale (Snyder, 1993; Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995).

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The main limitation in this study is the small number of participants (N = 44). Since it was an exploratory study, I conducted this study with a few participants and therefore statistical findings must be reported with caution. With more students, results may be different. For example, I may have found a significant difference based on religion. The fact that there were few Hindus (N = 5) compared to Christians and Muslims may skew the present conclusion of no significant differences. Based on these preliminary findings, further research should be conducted with more participants in one school, a larger study including students from public schools or even a larger study comparing rural to urban student populations hope. Furthermore, to allow for cross-cultural comparisons, a similar study should be conducted in the North American context.

All studies conducted in settings (particularly with different cultural groups) with instruments developed out of the local context must be approached with caution. In this study, English is a second language for all the students and despite precautions taken, subtle difficulties based on language and cultural may exist. For example, Snyder's model and definition of hope may reflect a western perspective. This is a major concern since hope is still a young field of research and few published studies are cross-cultural in nature (Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995). One such study comparing the meaning of hope for

Korean and American college students reports that Koreans conceptualize hope as closely related to intellect and will, whereas Americans view hope as an emotion (Averill, Catlin, & Chon, 1990). Although, it may not "appear" to be a limitation in this study, further research on meanings of hope in non-western societies could be conducted in order to fully support or reject existing models. Until this is done, these models should be applied with caution. It is therefore recommended that further research be conducted to examine the experiences and meaning of hope for various cultural groups. These studies will probably benefit from research methods involving gathering and analyzing in-depth information such as those found in phenomenology and grounded theory approaches.

This study reports levels of hope in adolescents but little is known about the meaning of the levels of hope. What are these students' goals? What are the specific pathways they see in reaching their goals? A future study could gather information about the experiential nature of these students' hope since the unidimensional nature of Snyder's model restricts the possibility of obtaining information about an individual's experience of hope. This limitation is also observed by other researchers (Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995) and therefore future studies using Snyder's Hope Scale may choose to include other measures such as interviews, observations, and group work to gather further information on hope.

The objectives of this study were to assess hope of adolescents in a Tanzanian school setting and to explore differences in scores based on gender, race and religion. Findings indicate that there are no significant differences in hope scores based on gender, race and religion. In fact most of the students scored average to high levels of hope based

on the Snyder Hope Scale. Given that this study is exploratory in nature, I am aware that further research needs to be conducted before Snyder's model can be fully accepted in school settings or cross-cultural settings such as Tanzania. This exercise was helpful as it demonstrates that conducting research is possible with minimum obstacles aside from questions related to conceptualizing hope in the Tanzanian context.

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Appendix A

Snyder Hope Scale

Name (Use a code name of your choice).....

Age.....

Gender (Male/Female).....

Race (African/Asian/Other).....

Father's Occupation.....

Mother's Occupation.....

Religion.....

Directions: Read each item carefully. Using the scale below, please select the number that best describes **YOU** and put that number in the blank provided.

1 = Definitely False 2 = Mostly False 3 = Mostly True 4 = Definitely True

..... 1. I can think of many ways to get out of a jam.

..... 2. I energetically pursue my goals.

..... 3. I feel tired most of the time.

..... 4. There are lots of ways around any problem.

..... 5. I am easily downed in an argument.

..... 6. I can think of many ways to get the things in life that are most important to me.

..... 7. I worry about my health.

..... 8. Even when others get discouraged, I know I can find a way to solve the problem.

..... 9. My past experiences have prepared me well for my future.

..... 10. I've been pretty successful in life.

..... 11. I usually find myself worrying about something.

..... 12. I meet the goals that I set for myself.

Chapter 3

Images of Hope:

Experiences of Hope Amongst Teenage Girls in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania

Although hope is considered an important factor in psychological and physical health (Bruhn, 1984; Cousins, 1989; Diez-Manrique, 1984; Duframe & Lecalir, 1984; Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995; Obayuwana & Carter, 1982; Owen, 1989; Snyder, Irving, & Anderson, 1991; Stotland, 1969), little is known about this basic human condition. What gives or enhances hope for humans? Are there differences in experiences of hope based on age? Does culture affect one's experience of hope? One thing we do know is that those people who persevere through extremely difficult situations often exhibit signs of a condition which we call hope throughout their ordeal.

Published research on hope in adolescents is significantly limited. The most notable work by Hinds (1984, 1988) employs a grounded theory approach with healthy adolescents and adolescents hospitalized for substance abuse. The finding from Hinds' study was a construct definition of hope as "the degree to which an adolescent believes a personal tomorrow exists" (Hinds 1984, p. 360). Based on this definition Hinds later developed the Hopefulness Scale for Adolescents (HSA), a 24-item visual analogue scale intended to quantify the amount of self-reported hopefulness an adolescent possesses at the time of measurement.

This study also uses a qualitative methodology which, instead of deriving a definition and theory of hope processes, seeks to describe the experience of hope in

adolescents. In addition to there being limited studies exploring hope in adolescents, there are also very few known studies examining the concept of hope cross-culturally. To more fully explore hope in adolescents, particularly in those adolescents who are from a different culture than the normally studied North American context, the research question developed for this study was: "What are the experiences of hope as represented in photography by adolescents in a Tanzanian classroom?"

Although research with children and adolescents using photography is not new (Aitken & Wingate, 1993; Fryrear, Nuell, & Ridley, 1974; Milford, Fryrear, & Swank, 1983), this investigation implements an alternative approach to studying hope using photograph-assisted interviews as tools for exploring hope in the lives of adolescents living in an African country.

Context of the Study

Tanzania is a country in East Africa with a population of 28 million. Although the majority of Tanzanians reside in rural areas, the urban sector is growing at a steady rate of 8.9% (Tanzania Gender Network Programme, 1993). Since the late 1970s, Tanzania has been caught in an economic crisis as a result of debt, donor dependence, and the continued underdevelopment of export-oriented agriculture and manufacturing. Other causes of its economic demise include the break-up of the East African Community, rising oil prices, the Ugandan war, and draught and famine during the early 1980s. In 1986, the Tanzanian government accepted Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to stabilize the economy. As a result of these changes, government

development priorities have shifted from a human development orientation to an economic development orientation. Government and donor support for social services has rapidly declined, therefore obliging citizens to pay more for social services and local infrastructure on the basis of cost sharing principles. These SAP principles of cost-sharing were introduced at a time of rapid inflation and declining real wages with predictably dire consequences. One notable deterioration in social services has been the decline in quality of education available at all levels of society -- except for those at the top of the economic ladder who often send their children to schools out of the country (Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, 1993).

The Tanzanian education system includes seven years of primary school, four years of secondary school leading to an Ordinary Level certification (O'Level), followed by two years of secondary school leading to an Advanced Level Certificate (A'Level). Since the introduction of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy in the late 1970s, primary education has been the human right of every Tanzanian and compulsory from ages seven through thirteen (first to seventh grade).

Gender inequalities are a persistent problem in the Tanzanian Education system. As a result of the UPE policy however, Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (1987-1991) show that female enrollment at the primary level, as a percentage of total student enrollment, increased marginally from 42% in 1974 to 49% in 1991. One major cause of low female enrollment in the 1960s and 1970s was school fees. In spite of official education policies to reduce gender inequalities at the post-primary school level, such as affirmative action strategies for female enrollment, female drop-out rates and low

academic performance has persisted at much higher rates compared to males (Bureau of Statistics, 1992). With the increasing difficult challenge of cost sharing, it is feared that female enrollment will decline rapidly especially from low income households (Mbilinyi & Mbughuni, 1991; Kilimwiko, 1996). Other causes of female drop-out rates are pregnancy (girls are expelled from schools if discovered to be pregnant) and "training" (puberty rites, *unyago*, have become the rationale for withdrawing children from school).

Girls perform at a lower level than boys in both the primary and secondary level. Explanations for differential school performance include male bias among teachers and fellow students; gender typing in the classroom and curriculum; fewer prospects for the future in education and employment for women; low self-image among girls and women; and conflicting gender roles which increase as girls reach puberty and are subjected to sexual harassment from teachers, students, and members of the community. In addition to this, often girls' expectations are lowered by their own accurate assessment of gender discrimination in employment potential which in turn reduces their incentive to work and study hard (TGNP, 1993). On the other hand, research has shown that "increased levels of female education are associated with improved hygiene, nutrition and health of all the family" (Browne & Barrett, 1991, 275).

Such information on the situation of girls and women leaves no doubt that the girl child in the Tanzanian context is at risk of failure in school, eventually leading to a life of poverty. To use simple everyday language that is more familiar, we can easily conclude that many children, particularly girls in these contexts, have less hope. The cards are stacked against them. Theirs is a life that is destined for the margins. In some parts of the

world, this marginalization begins even before girls are born. As summarized in an old Indian proverb: Bringing up a daughter is like watering a neighbour's plant.

As a Tanzania-educated woman, I am interested in young people's experiences and views of hope, particulary groups of young people who fall into the category of "lives at risk" for hopeless existence. Much of the information about the situation of women and girls in developing countries is based on older women's voices and/or aggregate statistical representations. As a researcher interested in people's experiences of hope, I chose to obtain direct information from students in a Tanzanian classroom. Amidst the seemingly impossible future for many students, I wanted to know what is hope for them. What is important in their lives on an individual basis? Since hope is considered an important basic human experience I chose to explore what it means for Tanzanian adolescents to have hope. One must keep in mind that the students I worked with were attending a private school. Immediately this puts them into a privileged segment of Tanzanian society. Compared to their rural counterparts, they enjoy better facilities and relatively better opportunities for the future. That said, it is important to keep in mind that the experiences presented here, although arguably universal in terms of psychological needs, are expressed by a particular group of Tanzanian adolescents in which we might consider hope to be maximized. The common Tanzanian girl-child's experiences would be much more desperate than the girls who participated in this study.

Methodology

Phenomenological inquiry attempts to gain entry into the conceptual world of individuals in order to understand the meanings they construct around daily events in their lives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The basic assumptions and philosophical understandings in phenomenology render it a particularly useful perspective from which to study hope in adolescents. This study was conducted from a phenomenological perspective with the aim of deriving rich descriptions of the experiences of hope for Tanzanian adolescents represented in photography and accompanying narratives. Husserl maintains that every action of consciousness is intentional, that is it is always directed toward some object (Jennings, 1986). Thus we can only know what we experience by attending to the perceptions and meanings that awaken our conscious awareness (Patton, 1990). Since phenomenology focuses on how people describe things and experience them through their senses, the use of images taken by adolescents depicting their hope and explanations of their experiences appropriately fits this study.

Ziller and Smith (1977) expanded upon a phenomenological basis for the use of photography by research participants as a research tool whereby photographs are images of the photographer's information processing and part of the photographer's interaction with the environment. In the process of the initial literature review, it became increasingly clear that most studies using photography as a research tool were conducted during the late 1970s and 1980s. No explanation is forthcoming as to the reason for the decline in the use of photographs as a tool in research. The use of photography was supported by Highly and Ferentz (1989) who maintained that the process of photography often leads to

uncovering misconceptions and arriving at more reality-based understandings of phenomena. Photography has been used in studies with marginalized groups and has been found particularly useful for work with non-verbally expressive populations such as deaf children (Bodner, 1975), delinquents (Fryrear & Nuell, 1977), adolescents with behavioral problems (Milford et. al., 1983), mentally ill populations such as schizophrenic patients (Spire, 1973; Phillips, 1986), for looking at concepts such as the meaning of war or womanhood (Ziller, 1990), and for cross-cultural studies (Okura, Ziller and Osawa, 1986).

Using photographs as data is relevant in studying hope, but alone photographs are insufficient. Photographs, like any form of art, can be interpreted in many ways. Narratives, on the other hand, are useful in characterizing phenomena of human experience since they often consist of rich data and multiple realities (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Rosen, 1987). Thus a combination of photography and narratives was seen to maximize the richness of the data in this study. Photograph-assisted interviews were successfully used in a previous study exploring the meaning of hope with older adults (Gaskins & Forte, 1995) and in learning how adolescents view hospitalization (Savedra & Highley, 1988). Although not utilized in any of the studies using photography with adolescents in school settings, the photography and interview approach was supported by English (1988). He maintains that the use of written data with photography ensures congruence in determining the significance of the images to the context from which they were generated.

Field Entry and Sampling

This study officially began when I approached the headmaster and deputy headmaster of a private school in Tanzania. Once I gave all information regarding the nature of the study, including ethical considerations, permission was granted. It was agreed that I would work with Form Two students who were in their second year of secondary school. The choice was based on the fact that by the time students enter Form Three they are streamed into science or art subjects.[1] A class of 44 students completed the Snyder Hope Scale (Snyder, 1995) from which twenty participants (9 boys and 11 girls between the ages of 14 and 17 years old) were selected to participate in a school-based hope project . These participants represented extreme variation sampling (Patton, 1990) since they were students with varying scores on the Snyder Hope Scale (10 high hope and 10 low hope according to the scale). In addition to obtaining different scores on the Snyder Hope Scale, I selected participants so that there were representatives from races and religions reflected in the school. Table 3-1 below shows the demographic characteristics of participants in the hope project. The Snyder Hope Scale is based on Snyder's hope model which is unidimensional and defines hope as the process of thinking about one's goals, along with the motivation to move toward (agency) and the way to achieve (pathways) those goals. People who are deemed by Snyder's Hope Scale to have

[1]It is interesting to note that the process of streaming students is biased toward sciences where those students who don't achieve high enough grades are slotted into apparently "substandard" arts subjects. Almost all students who participated in this study expressed apprehension about this streaming process in the coming year.

higher hope are said to have an elevated sense of agency and pathway, while low-hope people have enduring perceptions of deficient agency and pathways.

Table 3-1
Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Characteristic	Number of participants
Gender	
Male	9
Female	11
Age	
14	7
15	9
16	3
17	1
Race	
African	12
Asian	8
Religion	
Muslim	9
Christian	10
Hindu	1

Data Collection

Data collection was designed to take place in the form of a school based group project. Over a period of one month I met the 20 students and we explored the concept of hope though discussions, stories and music. An early topic of discussion was looking at the Swahili word for hope -- *Tumaini*. This was important to explore since in Swahili, the single word *Tumaini* is used to refer to hope, wishing, desire and also optimism. It was important to spend some time clarifying what concept I was interested in exploring. In

addition, a guest speaker (a journalist) introduced the students to the use of photography as a means of visually representing abstract feelings. These workshops were designed to mentally and technically prepare the students to start thinking about hope in their lives and to take their own photographs.

When the students were ready, they were given a set of instructions adapted from those used by Ziller (1990). The students were divided into groups of three and each group was given an automatic camera, a thirty-six exposure film, and the following set of instructions:

> Ask yourself the question "What is hope for me?" To do this we would like you to take **12 photographs** that capture or represent *hope* to you. The photographs can be of anything just as long as they tell something about your hope. Don't worry about your skills as a photographer. Keep in mind that the photographs should represent **your own** experience of hope. When you have taken all photographs, you will be asked to tell the story of three of your most important pictures, that is why you chose each one as a representation of hope to you. The stories could either be written or recorded onto a tape recorder so that someone else will write them for you. Remember, these photographs are simply to tell something about your hope.

Ethical Considerations

In addition to consent granted by the principal and deputy principal, a consent form requesting the use of photographs and accompanying explanations (narratives) in this study was given to each of the students. Although the principal assured me that his consent was sufficient since it was a school-based project, I asked each participant to explain to their parents/guardians about their involvement in the project and that I was available at the school for further explanation. Anonymity of participants was assured.

Participants were assured that pseudonyms would be used and some students chose their own pseudonyms at that time. The students were reminded throughout the project that participation was voluntary. They were given the freedom to remove their photographs at any time without consequence. They were also allowed to withdraw from the study at any time.

Trustworthiness of the Study

In qualitative studies, "the credibility of the study is especially dependent on the credibility of the researcher because the researcher is often the instrument of data collection and the centre of the analysis process" (Patton, 1990, p. 461). With this in mind, the following are among the steps I took to ensure the trustworthiness of this study. I reflected upon and recorded my own experience, views, and perceptions of hope before and throughout the study by collecting my own visual representations of hope and keeping a hope journal. I was in consultation with my supervisor on matters related to the study. Being a Tanzanian and being able to communicate with students in both Swahili and English served as a basis for establishing rapport. Having attended a similar school, I was able to relate this experience to the students which made them more at ease with me throughout the project. Making myself available to students by going to the school every day and allowing participants to speak with me in private about their concerns deepened this rapport. During this time, many students (including those not in the hope project)

came and talked to me on a wide range of issues. A number of them expressed their wish that there was a non-academic person to talk about non-academic concerns.[2]

As a means of ensuring trustworthiness during the data collection and analysis phase of the study, the following occurred: Based on the results, a secondary literature review was conducted at the end of the study; an audit trail was maintained; thick descriptions and quotes in the presentation of findings were used; and a review of major themes in the interviews was created with participants. In some cases I asked them to listen to portions of the recorded interview to explain parts I did not understand.

Results

Photo-assisted interviews were conducted with fifteen of the participants in the hope project. The reason why five participants did not take part in the interviews was due to their unavailability to participate in the interviews. Of the five, two wrote accompanying explanations to their photographs on paper. From those interviews, the following portraits were chosen to give the reader insight into the lives of some of the students. As outlined in the introduction and literature review, four girls' interviews were chosen based on their different backgrounds and variation of their experiences within the group to elaborate the particular experiences of hope given the context of the Tanzanian

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[2]Listening and interacting with these students confirmed my belief that school counsellors are an important but neglected aspect in Tanzanian schools. From this study it is apparent that many students may benefit from talking to someone about personal concerns that may affect academic performance.

girl child and women's lives. These interviews took place at the school towards the end of the hope project and generally took between 45 minutes to 1 hour.

I just want to be a successful woman in my family, I just want to stand on my own feet

Asha: Strengthened by Hope

Asha is a sixteen year-old Asian girl. Sorrowful eyes were my first impression of her, even though she smiled gracefully when spoken to. Her story is different from the rest of the students I interviewed. Asha comes from a dysfunctional family with both parents addicted to heroin. Her story of hope emerges from her difficult family life. When I met her she was living with her grandmother and twin sister. Her extended family was unable to support her and she was struggling to keep herself in school. Despite these difficulties, Asha appeared to be courageous and strong. She worked in a retail store the year before starting secondary school. She made a bargain with her employer not to be paid, but instead to have her employer pay her school fees the following year. This year, Asha would not have come to school without the help of a friend, who paid for her school uniform. This is where Asha's story of hope begins.

Asha's hope appears to be embedded in an important person and in her education. Her first photograph that represented hope consisted of a group of four smiling young people including Asha. She directed my gaze to a young man in the picture and stated that he was her friend and her hope. Her friend is the only person whom Asha seems to be able to turn to. For her, this person is the wall of strength that others often find in their

family. In the absence of a loving and caring family, Asha reflects this need when she says:

> *....because I need a family, I need..I mean I need someone to be close to me, but there is no one in my family and it's just God who gave me someone outside that just gives me hope. I mean whatever I face, he is there for me like we face things together. When I'm in trouble he's in trouble as well, when he's in trouble, I'm in trouble with him as well.*

Even though Asha has a grandmother and sister, she appears to carry the responsibility of caring for them. This is not a new responsibility for Asha. She mentioned that she takes care of her family because her father and step-mother are unable to take care of them. Asha recalled the embarrassment of finding out that her father lied to their neighbours in asking them for money to pay for his sick daughter's surgery when in fact he was using the money for drugs: *"It's horrible, my father has become a liar and it is so much shame for us".*

Asha appeared almost too wise for her age. I was struck with how much she, as a sixteen-year-old, had gone through while still being able to wake up in the morning and come to school. Her appearance did not reflect her troubles because she looked smart and her uniform was clean. The only deceiving element was the tired look in her eyes and the sadness of her glance as she reflected on her painful story. I was curious about her friend's ability to give her hope and she summarized her thoughts in response to this query well:

> *he just makes me to be strong and now I am stronger I can face anything, I'm ready for anything right now. And the thing is I just want to be a successful woman in my family. I just want to stand on my own feet. I don't want my family or my kids to get the problems which I have faced. Because it was terrible for me.*

After speaking with Asha it was clear that education was her hope and a strong factor facilitating her coping ability. Her relentless efforts to stay in school reflect her strong belief in education as a means of future self-sufficiency. *"The population is very big and everyone is going for education. You see, without it you cannot live"*. She is definitely aware of the changes in the Tanzanian Asian community where more women than in the past are starting to move into the work force. Asha even had an idea of how she would like to see herself:

> *I think I should work as well because we are the new generation and we are going to face these kinds of stuff* [gender equality issues] *and because I have been suffering a lot, I don't want to suffer again. I don't want my family to suffer the way I used to suffer. So that's why I think education is very important to me. Even though I may get married, what if my husband dies?*

To illustrate this, Asha took a creative photograph of students standing behind a notice board in the school yard (Figure 3-1).

I won't forget Asha. My interview with her turned out to be a lesson for me too. Her strength and courage are to be admired in such a young person. I left from my interview with Asha feeling grateful to be given a glimpse into her suffering but also into her experience of hope. I felt I had been given a lesson on the topic of hope from a woman who like myself, feels strongly about the importance of education, especially for women in Africa.

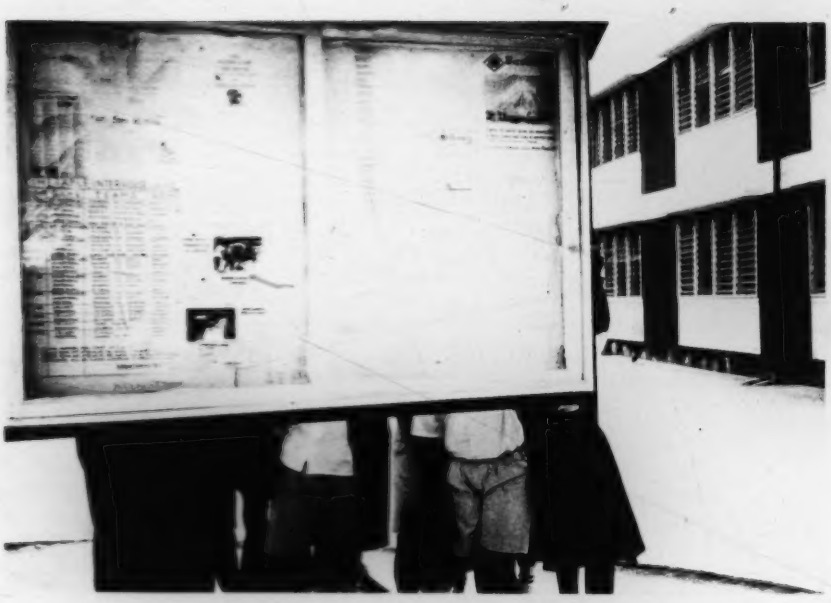

Figure 3-1. You see, without it [education] you cannot live.

If you start with education, you can have something better for the future

Pamela: Hope Inspired by Role Models

Pamela is a shy and serious African girl. Her quiet presence in the group did not betray the fact that she was a deep thinker. She chose her own pseudonym and was interested in the hope project in a quiet but obviously excited way. Often she would drop by and see me after the rest of her classmates were gone. We would have conversations about being at school and her family. Pamela represents a different segment in the Tanzanian society as her father had been an instructor at a local institution of higher

education. It was not surprising when she explained to me that education was a very important aspect in her life and was something she considered to be her hope. Her photograph, seen in Figure 3-2 was of a section of the school library showing book stacks. At first I expected that education for her would be related to some forced expectation, but her story gave me an unexpected insight into why education meant hope for her.

Figure 3-2. Without education, you can't have anything

Pamela's father passed away recently and her story was that of a mother struggling alone to bring up a family of six children. What kept her family from falling into deep poverty, which is common for widowed women, is that her father had built a house before he passed away. Pamela attributes this to her father's education which enabled him to provide well for his family. In Pamela's own words:

> *without education, you can't have anything. So I thought that as they say education is the key of life....so if you start with education, you can have something better for the future.*

Pamela wants to be a scientist. She explained to me that at the end of the year all form two students are streamed into science or arts classes based on the end-of-year exam results. Pamela expressed her concern that she has to work hard to prove to her teachers that she can do science subjects. This concern also comes out in her second representation of hope --time. Pamela explained that time represents hope for her. Time is important for her because it means there will be a future. Although she is not sure what she will be doing, she is concerned for her own well being and would like to be in a *"good situation in the future"*. On asking Pamela what her greatest fear was, her response gave me insight into what a lot of teenagers go through right now. *"Maybe I'll go into drugs and something like that. And I won't have money some other time, so I will get affected and everything. Maybe I'll be walking in the street and such things"*. Pamela's concerns are real since drug abuse amongst adolescents and street children are fairly new but major social problems in Tanzania. Her fears clearly represent the problems that face her generation in Tanzanian society today.

Pamela's hope is focused on the future but embedded in her current situation as a student. Education represents hope for a stable and comfortable future. What gives her hope are people she looks up to as models of what she would like to do. They are sources of encouragement since they have accomplished what she would also like to accomplish. In addition to the memory of her late father, a neighbour who has succeeded in unexpected ways (in spite of various obstacles) are important sources of hope. Her friends are also important to the fulfilment of her aspirations. Pamela explained how her school friends are important:

> *When you have a good company* (friends), *it's the same thing with people who smoke and such things, if you had a good company, they know that this is bad so they can help you. They can tell you that this is bad and don't listen to her people and such things. And even if you have something bad they can help you. You have a problem, they can help you. So if you have such friends, you always have hope that if I go down they will be here for me.*

I enjoyed talking to Pamela. I would call her a "quiet thinker". She thought very seriously and thoroughly about her hope and it radiated through in her determination to do well in her life.

He is someone in the world who gave me hope that you can do it

Sukaina: Hope Fuelled by Encouragement and Support

Sukaina was one of the first students to finish taking her photographs. She is an Ishnashri (sector in Muslim religion often represented by Tanzanians of Asian origin) girl of about fifteen years old. Sukaina's hope is found within people who encourage and

challenge her to go a step further than what she believes she is capable of. All her photographs are individuals and groups of people. I was curious to hear the stories behind each person in the photos and I recall a sense of excitement as our conversation began.

Sukaina's most important photograph was of her elder brother, Ali. Ali is one of three boys in the family. Sukaina is the only daughter. She explained that her relationship with Ali is very close. According to Sukaina, school doesn't come too easily for her. In fact she was not sure she would even get into her current school. She attributes whatever success she has had in secondary school to her brother who encouraged her:

> *He took a big pain to teach me and luckily I got into this school and I was really happy. He is someone in this world who gave me hope that you can do it and you will be able to do it. And I made it!*

Another important person who represents hope is Sukaina's life is one of her teachers in religion class. The photograph of her teacher was taken during a religion class. As is common for children from Sukaina's religion, she began attending afternoon religion classes at an early age of five. Sukaina recalls attending these classes: *" I used to hate going to religion classes, all the time my Mum had to force me to go there".* She mentioned that she used to be shy and self-conscious, but this particular teacher encouraged her to be more self-confident. Sukaina is now involved in inter-school debate competitions and she attributes this to her teacher who *"pushed me till I could do it".* This teacher has also encouraged Sukaina to think of going for further studies, something that Sukaina had never thought of given the rarity of female university students in her community.

During our conversation, Sukaina explained that a photograph that didn't come out was one of nature. Curious about how it represented hope, I invited her to share her thoughts with me. She explained that her mother had used the natural environment as a means of explaining to her the existence of a God in their faith. She explained that nature is her way of having confidence that there is a God. This knowledge gives her hope *"it* (nature) *tells me that there is a God and someone who created it and who takes care of it"*. Again Sukaina referred to her mother as a person who instilled hope into her by teaching her about God and faith.

Woven through Sukaina's experiences of hope are people who seem to encourage her to take a step further than what she felt initially capable of. The symbols of hope is Sukaina's life are people and the natural world.

I know that in the future if I have no place to go, my home will always be my home

Leah: Security and Acceptance Sustains Hope

Leah's uniqueness among the group of students was her bicultural background. She grew up in a family with an African father and a European mother. She told me that she enjoyed the hope project because it was not "academic". It was important for Leah to make me understand that she does not do well in school. For her, school is a means of getting to what she really wants to do. She explained that although she is not academically inclined, she knows that she is gifted in music. Leah chose a teacher as one representation of hope: *"If I see somebody teaching for example a teacher, it gives me hope because he could do it, so why can't I do it too?"*. Leah chose to take a picture of a

teacher as a representation of her hope to some day teach music. She explained that the teacher in her photograph was symbolic of teachers and not of personal importance. As our conversation continued, I learned that Leah has been playing the flute, recorder, violin, and more recently the piano. She knows that she can play music well, and therefore she believes it will also be possible to teach music some day. This knowledge gives Leah hope: *"If he could do it, I could do it".*

Like Sukaina, Leah's hope is also in the person of her mother. Through our conversation, Leah was able to convey to me that her mother is a role model of a "mother" to her. Leah would like to be married one day and have children of her own. Her mother represents her hope of being a particular kind of parent. In response to my asking what in her mother is outstanding making her a person of hope, Leah replied that:

> *She understands me, and she...I don't know..if I look at other mothers, my Mum is really different.....For example, if somebody sees that maybe I have failed a subject and they say. 'Is your mother going to shout at you?' and then I say, 'She understands, she was once a student'.*

Leah has the security that her mother understands her abilities and that assurance is very important to her and contributes to her hope.

Leah's home is another important aspect in her life (see Figure 3-3). Leah's description of why she chose her house as a representation of hope radiates a sense of security that is similar to her previous description of her relationship with her mother:

> *I know that in the future if I have no place to go, my home will always be my home. It gives me hope. Because I know that I will try to find my own house but if I don't find one, I know I will always have a place to go.*

Figure 3-3. I know I will always have a place to go

The sense of security is a theme in Leah's hope. She associates her home with a sense of stability. Having a stable background and place to fall back on gives Leah hope to face the future and all the uncertainty that it holds. Since Leah is not academically inclined, which is contrary to the expectations in her current school environment, the assurance from her mother and security at home are extremely significant.

Reflections/Discussion

What do these stories tell us? How do they relate to us as researchers, teachers, or specialists in fields interacting with adolescents? At a first glance these are simple stories about girls like any other girls their age. Their voices express their struggles, dreams and fears. But most of all, as was the focus of my conversations, their voices express hope. Hope became the basis for discussion about so many other areas of life. I found that in talking about hope, it opened up many areas of these girls' lives. To my surprise, we talked about education, about family, about friends, and about loved ones. Is this what hope is? Is hope our life in all of its struggles and victories? My conversations with the Tanzanian teenagers gave me a glimpse into the everyday lives of children their age. What I found was not new to our understanding of adolescents and their psychology. Instead I learned specific information about the important things in their lives from their own personal points of view. The phenomenological approach assisted the process of capturing these views. The photographs narrowed and kept our discussions focused on the topic at hand.

Two recurring themes in the four girls' experiences of hope are community and education. Most of the photographs taken by the participants in this study are of people or are related to people. The theme of community is definitely very strong. According to these girls, individuals such as teachers, parents, siblings, and even friends represent hope through their ability to encourage, support, challenge and motivate them. Contact with these meaningful people appears to instill hope in the girls' lives which in turn fuels personal development. Education is considered a main target of hope. This is not

surprising given the context within which these girls live. Most of the participants expressed concern about their future as it related to their education. Doing well at school was often seen as the only means of getting ahead and having a secure future. Talking about hope appears to have given me an opportunity to get at "real" issues with these young people very quickly.

Since research on the experiences of hope in children and adolescents is limited, further research possibilities are numerous. In this study, the method of using photo-assisted interviews appeared to work very well with this particular group of young people. Future research could employ a similar method to explore hope with adolescents within different school settings, such as public and rural secondary schools in Tanzania. Other future study possibilities include similar studies in elementary schools with younger children conducted in Swahili (the medium of instruction at the primary level). Most secondary schools in Tanzania are single sex and thus a study in an all-girls school and another study in an all-boys school, may provide for excellent comparison on the experiences of hope based on gender.

A significant finding in this study is the revelation of the importance of the role of hope in these teenagers' lives. This finding in itself is hope strengthening. These girls, and the others I talked with during my month at the Tanzanian secondary school opened up for me a realization that, just like adults, teenagers want their stories to be heard, their voices to be acknowledged and their experiences validated. I was reminded again about the importance of role models, of education in a society where abject poverty is only small steps away. Education is one, if not the only, means of establishing yourself as a self-

sufficient woman. My conversations about hope reveal the changing realities and courageous struggles of women in many counties like Tanzania and how it is so important to begin imparting knowledge and values to our girls in school. Hope for many of these girls, as reflected in this study, is knowing you can make it. The facilitators of hope in education systems are teachers, family members, and friends -- all are acknowledged many times by these young students.

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Chapter 4

Photo-Assisted Interviews:

A Method for Qualitative Inquiry with Children and Adolescents

In an article titled "Shooting Back", Life Magazine journalist Jim Hubbard (1990) revealed an unexpected perspective on the lives of homeless children. After eight years of photographing the homeless in the U.S, Hubbard instructed homeless children in Washington D.C. to take pictures of "their" home environment. Much to his surprise, the children's pictures were less hopeless and less despairing than his own professional depictions. Instead, these children captured images of family, friends, and games; all within the backdrop of urban decay. The childrens' message was clear -- they were still kids.

Hubbard's (1990) article illustrates a well-known approach to qualitative researchers -- asking individuals about "their" perspectives on "their" experiences. The fascinating aspect in Hubbard's report is that his participants used photography as a medium to tell their stories. Through images taken by children, we are given a glimpse into their view on their lives. This view may be, as demonstrated by Hubbard, in sharp contrast to the professional eye. An alternative or additional approach could have been to interview the children about their lives using their photographs. When photographs are used as a basis for interviews, the method is referred to as photo-interviews (Collier & Collier, 1986; Hagedorn, 1994) or photo-assisted interviews (Gastkins & Forte, 1995).

Reviews of previous research using photography with children and of various theoretical models show that photo-assisted interviews can be a valuable method in research, particularly with school-age children.

Different "View" Points

The use of the camera as a research tool has been well documented in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology (Collier & Collier, 1986; English, 1988; Schwartz, 1989). Collier and Collier's book *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* is one of the pioneering works addressing research procedures, observations and interpretations of visual data in anthropology. These researchers view photography as a bridge for communication and introduce the idea of interviewing participants using photographs. Drawing on their experience, Collier and Collier argue that photographs enhance interviews by interpreting experiences, inviting open expression, while maintaining concrete and explicit reference points (the photograph). They add that participants are more relaxed and tell their stories more spontaneously when the focus is not on them but on the photographs at issue.

The photo-interviews described by Collier and Collier (1986), where the researcher takes the photographs (as opposed to participant-photographer), are the most common in qualitative research (Collier & Collier, 1986; English, 1988; Schwartz, 1989). However, Ziller (1990) introduces another approach to photo-interviews whereby participants are provided with cameras and instructed to record their own images associated with various feelings.

> Through the insider's (participant) view via photography, the researcher becomes a part of the phenomenon, and a personal knowledge is achieved. The researcher begins to "see as they see" and "feel as they feel." The purpose of observation is not in simple description and analysis but understanding (1990, p. 21).

Ziller traces this approach back to Worth and Adair who in 1966 asked Najavo Indians to take motion pictures of their own lives, later Chafler (1972) extended this approach to lower and middle class teenagers. In this sense, Hubbard's photography instructions to the homeless children in Washington, D.C., links with previous approaches to qualitative research that seek to capture different view points.

This paper discusses the usefulness of photo-assisted interviews when conducting qualitative research with children and adolescents. The second part of this paper describes the author's experiences using photography in research, and suggests how this method can be facilitated. Recommendations draw on published studies, recent experiences by the author and conversations with individuals using photography in projects with children and adolescents.

From the Eye of a Child: Photography in Research with Children

Photography has been used widely in research with children, for example in studies with emotionally disturbed children (Ammerman & Fryrear, 1975; Gallagher, 1983; Nelson-Gee, 1975), children with hearing impairments (Bodner, 1975; Weiser, 1988), children with language development problems and children using English as a second language (Nath, 1979), juvenile delinquents (Fryrear, Nuel, & White, 1977),

institutionalized adolescents (Milford, Fryrear, & Swank, 1983), and hospitalized adolescents (Savedra & Highley, 1988). These researchers used photography to facilitate verbal expression (Nath, 1979; Bodner, 1975; Weiser, 1988), to enhance self-esteem (Ammerman & Fryrear, 1975; Fryrear, Nuel, & White, 1977; Milford, Fryrear, & Swank, 1983) to enhance social skills (Gallagher, 1983; Nelson-Gee, 1975; Weiser, 1988), to learn how adolescents view an experience (Savedra & Highley, 1988), and to assist in understanding children (Aitiken & Wingate, 1993; Bach, 1993; Hubbard, 1990; Ziller, Vera, & Camanche de Santoya, 1981).

The overall message in these studies is that the use of photography in research works well, enriches the studies, and is a rewarding experience for both the researcher and participants. In the words of one researcher, "...the students' enthusiasm was obvious to all who observed any of the photographic activities....The photography social skills unit was judged highly successful and will be implemented again. The theme, Photography -- A Joyful Experience, permeated the entire series of lessons" (Gallagher, 1983, p. 45). Some of these researchers have found photography to be particularly useful for work with non-verbally expressive groups such as children with language difficulties (Bodner, 1975; Nath, 1979; Weiser, 1988). Moreover, experimental studies show that after completing photograph projects, children with emotional and behavioral problems obtained improved social skills and higher self-esteem scores (Ammerman & Fryrear,1975; Fryrear, Nuel, & White, 1977; Gallagher, 1983).

Images and Words: Photo-Assisted Interviews

The success of using a photographic method in the previous studies suggests that photo-assisted interviews would also be successful in research with children and adolescents. Highley and Ferentz (1989) support the use of photography, maintaining that the process (of photography) often leads to uncovering misconceptions and arriving at more reality-based understandings of phenomena. Nevertheless, relying solely on photography as data in qualitative research is insufficient. Photographs, like any form of art, can be interpreted in many ways. The use of narratives as a way of characterizing phenomena of human experience consists of rich data and multiple realities (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Rosen, 1987). Hagedorn (1994) refers to photographs as a medium to capture visual data of experience just as audiotaping records verbal descriptions of experience. Thus a combination of photographs and accompanying narratives adds richness to data in a study.

The use of images and words is supported by English (1988) who maintains that the use of written data (accompanying narratives) with photography ensures congruence in determining the significance of the images to the context from which they were generated. Schwartz (1989, p. 120) also holds that "in order to benefit social research, the use of photographic methods must be grounded in the interactive context in which photographs acquire meaning". The approach of using photo-assisted interviews is not used in most reviewed research. However, it has yielded successful results in a study exploring the meaning of hope in elderly adults (Gastkins & Forte, 1995) and in a study exploring how

adolescents view hospitalization (Savedra & Highley, 1988). A number of theoretical frameworks can be used as a basis for using photo-assisted interviews in qualitative research, specifically with children and adolescents.

Theories supporting the use of photo-assisted interviews

Phenomenology and Hermeneutic Photography as Frameworks

A framework is a basic structure of ideas that guides a person in all decisions related to an endeavour. Here the endeavour is qualitative research using photo-assisted interviews as data. The framework of a study is important since it ultimately drives the type of questions asked, the style of the photo-assisted interview, and even the approach to data analysis. In choosing a framework, the researcher may begin by asking the question "whose world view am I interested in understanding?" For example, in Hubbard's (1990) study we see the life of the homeless through the eyes of children, a phenomenological framework that focuses on the world view of participants rather than that of the researcher.

Ziller and Smith (1977) elaborate a phenomenological basis for the use of photography as a research tool whereby photographs are images of the photographer's information processing and part of the photographer's interaction with the physical and social environment. Phenomenological inquiry attempts to gain entry into the conceptual world of individuals in order to understand the meanings they construct around daily events in their lives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The assumption underlying this inquiry is

that we only know what we experience by attending to the perceptions and meanings that awaken our consciousness (Patton, 1990). The use of images taken by a camera appears to be one significant tool for gaining such understanding. According to Ziller and Smith, extending the phenomenological approach to the medium of photography entails two main advantages: (1) The camera documents a person's perceptual orientation with minimal training and without the disadvantages of verbal report techniques, and (2) instead of the researcher selecting material, the participant is able to do so. Since photographs and verbal reports have their respective advantages and drawbacks, combining the two mediums maximizes their effectiveness.

Hagedorn (1994) introduces hermeneutic photography, an esthetic technique grounded in hermeneutic and esthetic philosophy, as a research method that provides insight into knowledge about human experience by seeing and interpreting. In hermeneutics, artistic expressions, ideas, sculpture, and photographic interpretations are regarded as text (Van Manen, 1994). Thus hermeneutic photography highlights the importance of seeing and interpreting as a means of understanding experience by grasping symbols that reflect it. As Hagedorn explains:

> The images captured with photography invite human beings to speak about these experiences with a reflective depth. Photographs not only gather interpretations of images of experience, but also enrich and extend the communication of the experiences. (1994, p. 46)

Van Manen (1984) supports creative ways for obtaining personal experience descriptions from children who may not be verbally expressive or reflective in traditional

interviews and often cannot sit for long periods of time without tiring. He emphasizes the importance of understanding developmental differences in children and adults in determining the methods of collecting data in research:

> To gain access to the experience of young children, it may be important to play with them, puppeteer, paint, draw, follow them into their play spaces and into the things they do while remaining aware of the way it is for children (1984, p.18)

Photo-assisted interviews constitute one creative medium for research with children.

Children's Cognitive Development: "Photographing" our Thoughts

The usefulness of photo-assisted interviews with children and adolescents may be supported by Piaget's theory of cognitive development . According to Piaget, development of cognition is acquired through sequences starting with the sensorimotor stage of coordinating sensory perceptions and simple motor behaviours, and ending with the formal operational stage where the ability to think abstractly and systematically is acquired (Cole & Cole, 1994). In middle childhood (ages 6 to 12 years), children are "concrete thinkers", which means operational thinking allows them to mentally combine order in the presence of objects and events being thought about. This has enormous implications when conducting research on abstract and elusive concepts such as experiences of hope. Creative approaches must then be taken to make full use of childrens' participation. In such cases photo-assisted interviews is one reasonable method for exploring abstract concepts with children since the images are concrete reference

points for the children to express thoughts and feelings. As for adolescents, the use of photographs as a basis for verbal interviews is familiar and perhaps more valuable for those who are late developers, having recently emerged from the world of concrete thinking.

Phototherapy: Healing with Images

In the 1970s, the individual's view of the world through photo-communication was used extensively by psychotherapists. "Phototherapy is the use of photography or photographic materials, under guidance of a trained therapist, to reduce or relieve painful psychological symptoms and to facilitate psychological growth and therapeutic change" (Stewart, 1979, p. 2). In her practice of psychotherapy, Weiser (1988) reports that using photos as therapy tools for exploring feelings greatly aids therapy with children and adolescents:

> Photographs and the process of taking and interacting with the prints are increasingly being used to give youth "a better picture" of themselves and to bring their lives "into sharper focus", Since "seeing is believing" and "a picture is worth a thousand words," "seeing for yourself"can be a powerful tool when input from others is not relevant or accepted (p. 345).

Phototherapy has been used with children and adolescents in studies to meet various objectives, for example, to investigate the relationship between self-photographs and self-concept of fourth grade students (Ammerman & Fryrear, 1975); to study self-concept enhancement of juvenile delinquents between the ages of 13 and 16 years (Fryrear, Nuel & White, 1977); and to assess perceptual development and growth of

object relations between a disturbed child and therapist (Nelson-Gee, 1975; Weiser, 1988). Most therapists who use phototherapy with children recommend using non-directive, client-centred techniques in understanding the photographs (Hogan, 1981; Weiser, 1988). This is emphasised so that the client's meanings and associations are the focus of the work. As with other therapies that utilize expressive arts, the emphasis on phototherapy is the expressions of the client rather than the interpretations of the therapist.

Phototherapy and photo-assisted interviews in qualitative research are similar in several respects. In both cases, the camera is a tool for facilitating expression of an individual. Focus is on the individual's description of the information in the photographs and not on the interpretations of the therapist or researcher. The difference between the two is that phototherapists use photographs intentionally to heal or facilitate change, whereas in research the aim is to gather information. Change may occur as a result of participating in the study (Savedra & Highley, 1981), but it is not deliberate in the interview.

Lessons from The Field: Experiences with Photo-Assisted Interviews

With support from previously cited studies, I conducted two studies to explore the experiences of hope for adolescents in school settings. One study was conducted in Tanzania (Parkins, 1997) where I was the primary researcher, and the other was conducted in Canada where I collaborated with classroom teachers. In this paper, I refer to them as the Tanzanian study and Canadian study. While the Tanzanian study

progressed smoothly with minimum difficulties, the Canadian study was never completed. Therefore, to make the following recommendations, I drew on these two experiences together with comments from other researchers and individuals who have used photography in school-based projects. One of the references is a classroom-based project with fourth Grade students who explored the concept of hope using polaroid cameras (personal communication with Strebchuck, April 28, 1997).[1] Since the views reflected in the following section are gained from these limited settings, researchers planning a study based on these recommendations can modify them to suit the purpose and objectives of their studies. In spite of these shortcomings, I hope the following suggestions will help in preparing studies that utilize photo-assisted interviews, especially in school settings where children and adolescents are the research participants.

Frameworks and View Points: Whose world do I want to see?

Highley and Ferentz (1989) assert that the framework from which the researcher functions will inevitably influence how photography is used in a study. Likewise, photo-assisted interviews may be used for a variety of reasons based on the framework and purpose of a study. Answering the question, "whose world do I want to see", determines decisions related to the framework, participants, and research questions. For example,

[1]Susan Strebchuck is an elementary school teacher in Alberta, Canada who, in conjunction with the Hope Foundation of Alberta, ran a year-long classroom based project exploring hope with fourth Grade students using a variety of visual arts including photography. A series of lesson plans that were used to guide the Hope Project are available for teachers through the Alberta Teachers Association (Strebchuk, Gurnett, & Wong, 1994).

who will take the photographs - researcher or participants? In my studies, I used a phenomenological perspective to obtain descriptions of adolescents experiences of hope using photo-assisted interviews. With the phenomenological framework in mind, participants took pictures of their own experiences of hope. Bach (1993) used a similar approach by having four girls take their own photos in a narrative study of girls' lives. Therefore, the actual use of photo-assisted interviews may vary according to the framework that is outlined at the beginning of a study since the framework determines the photographic assignment (instructions), the interview process, and analysis. I will use an observation from my Tanzanian study to elaborate on the influence of frameworks during the research.

An important element in conducting qualitative research is that of confronting the issue of personal bias which can potentially influence data analysis and presentation. The phenomenological perspective attempts to approach the phenomenon under study with no preconceived notions and expectations through a process of searching and acknowledging personal beliefs and attitudes called bracketing (Jennings, 1986; Van Manen, 1994). I attempted to bracket my understanding of hope by collecting photographs that represent hope to me and by keeping a personal hope journal. Despite these "precautions", when I viewed the first set of developed prints, for a split second, I remember wondering whether the students had understood the assignment. This thought, although hastily rejected, represents my bias since I probably noticed a difference in some of the pictures compared to my own representations of hope. In keeping within the phenomenological framework,

my understanding of hope is not relevant as data and therefore I should not make any assumptions about the participants' images. Being aware of my potential biases throughout the research process is important within the phenomenological framework and is one way of ensuring the trustworthiness of the study. Appendix A shows a variety of images (under the theme of education) that are representations of hope for participants in the Tanzanian study.

Ethical Considerations: Do they differ when using photographs?

In what way do ethical considerations differ when using photography in research? In studies that utilize photographic material, ethical issues can become important for various reasons. For instance, concerns may arise regarding consent to take photographs, ownership of photographic images, and even cultural differences in meanings attached to photography. Ethical issues may also arise regarding maintaining anonymity of participants or people in photographs. Usual ethics in research requires that anonymity of participants be assured and no names be connected to results unless a participant wishes to have his or her name retained. This is a tricky issue in photography since some images may include identifying objects. Ethical issues must be considered beforehand and discussed in detail with participants.

Highley and Ferentz (1989) suggest that the most critical factor in gaining access and consent is a reasonable approach that is sensitive to the individual being photographed. In studies where participants take photographs, they should be instructed

to obtain the permission of people photographed (e.g. family members) and to explain clearly to them if the images are to be used in research. I found the participants in the Tanzanian study to be very creative with this matter. For example, a number of students whose family members were unavailable chose to take pictures of things that represented those members. In their study, Savedra and Highley (1988) related their initial concern regarding consent issues and possible irresponsibility on the part of adolescents using cameras. They went on to report that actually gaining consent was not a problem and that the adolescents used the cameras in a responsible manner.

In photo-assisted interviews, researchers should obtain consent from participants to access both narratives and photographs. As soon as the pictures are developed, the participants should give signed permission to use photographs. As in any study, participants who are minors must obtain permission from parents or guardians. In cross-cultural studies, researchers should abide by and honour local ethical procedures. For example, in the Tanzanian study, the school principal was in charge of granting permission, on behalf of parents, to students who took part in the study. In addition to obtaining permission from the principal, students were instructed to report their participation to their parents and guardians. Participants should be free to withdraw from the study, withdraw their photographs, or obtain negatives at any time without repercussion. Lastly, in publishing, one should check with journals about their policies on publishing photographs which may include additional signed consent from photographer or use of black and white pictures only.

Field Entry: Where do I begin?

Researchers planning to use photography are often apprehensive. We wonder, for example, whether our potential participants will want to be involved in a study that requires a lot of time and energy. On the other hand, using photography as part of data can be an enjoyable and rewarding experience for participants especially when the project is presented in an exciting manner. Studies using photography report the exercise to be an immensely rewarding experience. Bodner (1975), who conducted a student-focused photography project with 20 hearing impaired children (ages 5 to 7 years), reported that the activity generated involvement, excitement and challenge in the children; "there was a great mood of shared interest and enjoyment in looking at each other's photographs and taking pride in their own" (1975, p. 21).

In conducting photo-assisted interviews with children in a school setting, it is probably easier to conduct the study with the assistance of teachers. By approaching a teacher and explaining to him or her the nature of the project, the researcher stands to benefit from his or her enthusiasm as a consistent and thorough leader who can energize students around the project. Teachers can also assist in technical matters of using cameras and addressing student questions in a timely manner -- as they come up. The Canadian study used a teacher as co-researcher. Because the teacher spent all day with the students and had good rapport with the class, I decided that the teacher would be the best person to prepare the students for the photo-assignment (see section on preparation). For some time this went on very well and the teacher's reports indicated that the students were

enthusiastic about the project. Difficulties arose, however, when the teacher I was working with left the school, and subsequently within a period of one year, the students were taught by two different teachers. I believe that this study would have been completed successfully had it not been for high teacher turnover. A similar project that explored hope in a classroom setting (personal conversation, Strebchuk, April 28, 1997), attributes its success to the teacher being with the students for three years and with them throughout the time the project lasted.

Lessons from the Canadian study apply specifically to research in a classroom with one teacher. When co-researching with teachers, it is advisable to remain fully involved in the project by visiting the class often and building rapport with participants. In the event that the teacher leaves the school or falls sick, the researcher will be able to carry on the project. I was unable to do this with the Canadian study as I lived far from the city where the school was. In the Tanzanian study, the students had many teachers and therefore I conducted the hope project alone during the students' free time. Even though the project lasted for a short period of time (one month), I was able to establish rapport quickly with my participants since I spoke their language, had lived in their city and had been through a similar school system. In addition, the students appeared to enjoy being in a " non-academic" project with a "non-academic" adult.

Cameras: The good, the bad, and the ugly of using technology in research

The main limitation of using photo-assisted interviews in research is, no doubt, the expense involved in purchasing and developing film. What about the type of cameras to use? Cameras of choice in most studies appear to be polaroids and automatic (instamatic) disposable cameras due to their ease of operation and quick access to developed photographs (Hogen, 1981; Ziller, 1977). In the Tanzanian study, we used automatic cameras, each shared by three students. Although the students worked cooperatively, difficulties arose with regard to technical matters such as accidentally opening the camera and exposing the film, forgetting to turn on the flash, or images being out of focus. In such cases the students had to retake their pictures which delayed progress. The best way to ensure uniformity and avoid technical difficulties relating to camera use is to use polaroid or disposable cameras, preferably with a maximum of two participants per camera. Prepare for unforseen technical difficulties by ensuring the participants have a clear idea of the images they are going to take (addressed below) and the technical difficulties involved in capturing those images on film.

Preparing participants for the photo-assignment: Images of experiences

Before giving the participants cameras with instructions for the study, time must be spent preparing them to take pictures related to the research question. It is necessary to prepare participants in order to help them with the technical aspects of taking pictures and to place the photo assignment in the context of something larger (the concept or issue

being researched). In both of my studies I explored the concept of hope as experienced and represented in the lives of adolescents. With this in mind I prepared the students to answer my research question by conducting a series of workshops with the aim of introducing them to the idea of representing an experience through visual images. In the Tanzanian study, this was complemented by inviting a guest photographer to speak to the participants about some technical and artistic aspects of photography. In preparing for the Canadian project, students visited the Hope Foundation of Alberta. At that time they participated in a workshop and began to talk about the idea of representing hope through images by constructing collages. Both studies adapted lessons used in the project including children exploring hope in a fourth Grade class (Strebchuck, Gurnett, & Wong, 1994). These lessons were designed to help children begin to think about the concept of hope through stories, discussions and images, whereby the photo-assignment is placed in the larger context of the area of research.

The photo-assignment: What to say and how to say it

Instructions for taking photographs may vary depending on the research question. Participants can be given a set of instructions adapted from ones used by Ziller (1977).[2] Versions of the same instructions have been used in other studies (Aitiken & Wingate, 1993; Ziller, 1981; 1986). In the Tanzanian study, I gave an automatic camera and 36

[2]Ziller (1977; 1981) uses these instructions in studies using photography to understand orientations (personal frames of reference) associated with self-concept.

exposure film to groups of three students with the following set of instructions (also adapted from Ziller, 1977):

> Ask yourself the question "what is hope for me?" To do this we would like you to take **12 photographs** that capture or represent *hope* to you. The photographs can be of anything just as long as they tell something about your hope. Don't worry about your skills as a photographer. Keep in mind that the photographs should represent **your own** experience of hope. When you have taken all photographs, you will be asked to tell the story of three of your most important pictures, that is why you chose each one as a representation of hope to you. The stories could either be written or recorded onto a tape recorder so that someone else will write them for you. When you finish this project, you will have a book/portfolio about your own hope that is made up of 12 photographs. Remember, these photographs are simply to tell something about **your** hope.

Using Ziller's instructions as a framework is particularly useful since it outlines the instructions in a relatively simple and straightforward manner. These instructions also highlight the phenomenological aspect in that participants are taking photographs of "their" own experience. The same sheet of paper with written instructions can be used for planning the pictures by having participants sketch their images in drawn boxes. Although I gave the Tanzanian participants the option of writing down their reflections, most students chose to participate in the photo-assisted interviews.

<u>How are photo-assisted interviews conducted?</u>

Photo-assisted interviews can take on the nature of regular qualitative interviews ranging from structured to unstructured interviewing. In the Tanzanian study, I used photographs as the basis of the interviews by employing a semi-structured approach. I

began the interviews by asking the participant to tell me why she or he had chosen the photograph as a representation of hope. From there I asked questions for clarification and elaboration. Regardless of the approach taken, the participants must be comfortable and preferably in their own environment to reduce anxiety relating to the interview. In my experience, I found photo-assisted interviews more relaxing for both myself and the participants and easy to conduct than regular interviews. One possible reason is that the focus was on the photographs and not the participant. The externalized images probably put the participants at ease as they were not the "object" under study. Another reason is that in many cases the photographs seem to quickly evoke emotions and stories, thus facilitating the interview process. In the fifteen interviews I conducted, all participants appeared to enjoy talking about their pictures. The following is an excerpt from a photo-assisted interview with a fourteen-year old female participant in the Tanzanian study.

> **Sophie:** Tell me about your second picture Mary[3], why does it represent hope to you?
>
> **Mary:** This is my family. In my family we were seven. My brother died, so we are now four children, my father and my mother. *[spends some time point out each sibling in photograph and telling me their names and school grades they are in]*
>
> **Sophie:** In what way does you family represent hope to you Mary?
>
> **Mary**: Why my family is my hope is because they are around me every time. Even if I am in a bad condition they are around me. Once when I was a little kid, I got an accident when I was playing Rede, do you know Rede?

---

[3]This is a pseudonym to maintain the participant's anonymity. Likewise. I have not included material that is identifying in this excerpt.

Sophie: Yes, babua kati? [another Swahili name for a type of ball game]

Mary: Yes [laughing] back then I was trying my best to make the ball not to hit me and then I fell down and I hurt my teeth. One tooth fell down and the other was like coming out but it was still in there. And then I had to get braces. And then I was not able to eat food like rice, only soft food like biscuits, uji [porridge]. And then I was like not able to go out and play, so if I needed something my brother or my sister would get it for me. And they were always all around me, telling me sorry and things like that.

Sophie: So they were there for you?

Mary: Yeah. Even now they are there for me. They are hope for me. It is important to me that I have them to turn to.

How are photo-assisted interviews analyzed?

Like traditional verbal interviews, analysis of photo-assisted interviews can be conducted in a variety of ways depending on the framework that the researcher is using. From a qualitative perspective researchers use an inductive analytical approach where general patterns emerge from the photographs and narratives as opposed to a deductive approach where a specific research hypothesis is given at the beginning of the study (Patton, 1990). A *thematic analysis* of the narratives refers to the "recovering of a theme or themes that are embodied and dramatized in the evolving meanings and imagery of the work" (Van Manen, 1994, p. 78). In the Tanzanian study, I conducted a thematic analysis of the interviews using Colaizzi's (1978) method as a general guideline. Using this, I began by reading each interview, then extracting significant sentences or phrases. Instead of formulating meanings from the significant phrases, I paraphrased the significant

statements then clustered the paraphrases into theme clusters (or categories). Finally, I pulled together related cluster themes or categories into larger themes. Colaizzi ends the analysis by defining the essential structure of the concept under study, but I simply described the themes that emerge from the interviews. Table 4-1 below is a sample thematic data analysis using the previous interview example.

Table 4-1
Sample of Thematic Data Analysis

Meaning Unit Excerpt	Paraphrase	Theme
Why my family is my hope is because they are around me every time. Even if I am in a bad condition they are around me.	Knowing that her family members are always there for her even when she is in a difficult condition.	Availability of family members at all times.

Another approach combines thematic analysis of interviews and a separate content analysis of photographs. *Content analysis* of photographs is used mostly in studies that use photographs alone. [4]

Closing Remarks

This paper introduced photo-assisted interviews as a potentially valuable method of conducting qualitative research with children and adolescents. Reviewed theoretical

[4]For a discussion on content analysis of photographs see Highley & Ferentz, 1989; Ziller & Lewis, 1977.

frameworks illustrated how photo-assisted interviews can be used and cognitive development theory and phototherapy prove the value of this method in facilitating expression with children and adolescents.

My experience using photo-assisted interviews in research was thoroughly enjoyable. As seen in the previous excerpt with Mary, in photo-assisted interviews, the images can become catalysts in stimulating children and adolescents to tell their stories. In the Tanzanian study, images of hope elicited feelings and thoughts about education, family, and friendship -- all were referred to as important aspects in the adolescents' hope experience and daily life. It was fascinating to see how anecdotes about siblings, thoughts about role models, hopes and fears about school were revealed by images as simple as a smiling face in a picture or a book lying on a desk. Participants in this study reported that they enjoyed taking photographs and were happy to have copies of their pictures. Based on these experiences, I agree with Judy Weiser who expresses the power of the camera as a tool in understanding children and adolescents' worlds, especially those whose worlds differ significantly from our own:

> I would offer the suggestion that rather than being able to walk in their (children and youth) shoes for a day in order to really experience the world as they do, let us instead ask to step behind their cameras in order to see what (and how) they see; to pose for them under their direction of how we should be (or pose) for the camera; to reflect with them upon the meanings, feelings, memories, and thoughts stimulated by a photo-catalyst (1988, p. 372).

Taking pictures of their worlds, allows children to "show" their realities to the researcher, while the interview process allows them to "tell" the researcher about their experiences.

The enjoyment of actively participating in a project and gaining a momento of their participation (copies of the pictures) also helps to enhance rapport with participants which in turn contributes to trustworthiness of the study.

The uses of photo-assisted interviews are immense with potential uses in counselling, teaching, and above all, in enriching and extending existing research methodologies. It is my hope that more people will experiment with this method, especially with research that involves understanding experiences of children and adolescents. Since children may not always have the words that capture what they are trying to express, combining creative methods such as photography with narratives aids their expressions and enhances our understanding of their experiences.

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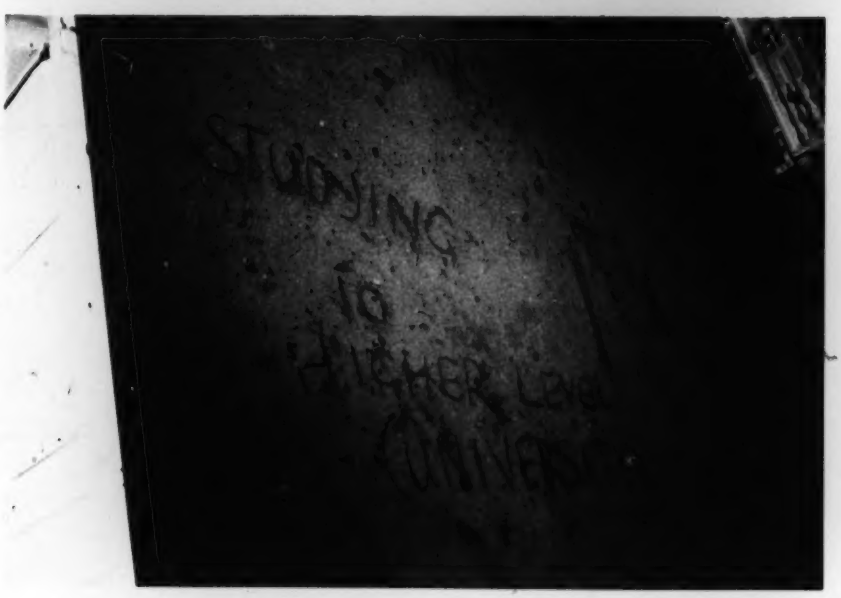
Appendix A

Education is hope for me

Various photographs taken by participants in the Tanzanian study all of which were related to the theme of education being related to their hope.



Chapter 5

Reflections

These studies represent a journey into the world of exploratory research. The journey metaphor best fits this experience both literally in terms of my trip to East Africa where the research was conducted, but also figuratively in terms of the time I spent preparing for this work, making decisions along the way, and encountering the joys and despairs as I inched forward. It is a continuing journey hinged on hope towards an understanding of children's and adolescents' hope. I began the research process with a sense of excitement perhaps similar to one embarking on an unknown adventure, unsure of what awaits him or her. Given that hope is a fairly recent area of research with little evidence of published studies in school settings, I too was not sure where the study would lead me. But I was curious, I harboured hope, and was determined to press on and see what I would find along the way. In the end, I believe this journey was worth taking. It has afforded me the opportunity to experience the world of exploratory research and to utilize both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This journey has enabled me to experience the research process, which in one sense is as valuable as the research findings.

Figure 5-1 illustrates how I conceptualize the exploratory journey. It maps the various research approaches that I took along the way and possible routes that I could have taken based on findings. Unlike typical journeys that lead to an end, this map shows that the research journey does not end at a particular point. The possibilities are endless especially in areas that have not been researched extensively -- such as

hope and young people in school settings.

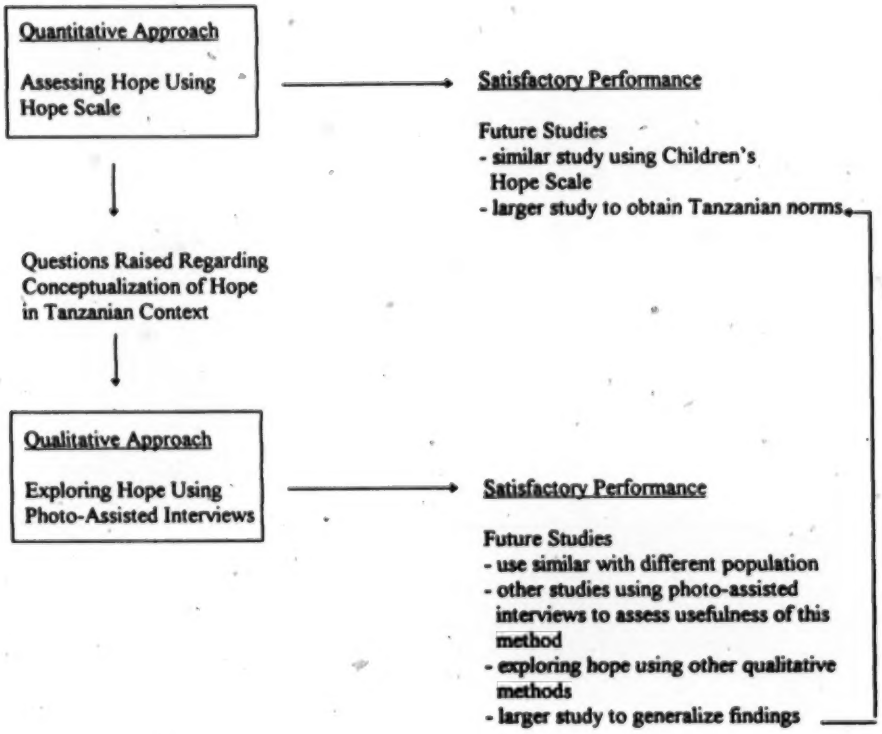

Quantitative Approach
Assessing Hope Using Hope Scale
Satisfactory Performance
Future Studies
- similar study using Children's Hope Scale
- larger study to obtain Tanzanian norms
Questions Raised Regarding Conceptualization of Hope in Tanzanian Context
Qualitative Approach
Exploring Hope Using Photo-Assisted Interviews
Satisfactory Performance
Future Studies
- use similar with different population
- other studies using photo-assisted interviews to assess usefulness of this method
- exploring hope using other qualitative methods
- larger study to generalize findings

Figure 5-1. Mapping the exploratory journey: Researching hope with adolescents in a school setting

Implications for Counselling and Research

The present findings from exploring hope with adolescents in a school setting suggest that:

1. Researching hope with adolescents in school settings in a non-western context is possible.

2. There may not be significant differences in hope based on gender, race or religion.

3. Hope for these adolescents is closely related to the goal of attaining a satisfactory education and that community members are important in sustaining hope.

4. Photo-assisted interviewing is a potentially useful method in researching abstract concepts such as hope with young people.

Although preliminary in nature, these findings can serve as a basis for reflecting on some possible implications for counselling and research with children and adolescents in school settings. For example, the Hope Scales could be used as short, potentially reliable and valid instruments to measure hope in school children. Likewise, the identified representations of hope can serve as guides for developing interventions to foster hope in school age children.

Hope Scales as Potential Emotional Assessment Tools

Snyder's Hope Scale and the recently developed Children's Hope Scale are possible useful tools for use in educational or counselling settings (Snyder, 1995). The relative simplicity (few items and easy to understand instructions) of the scales allows them to be administered in a short time frame to students in a classroom. Once

further research more clearly demonstrates that the hope scales do not show bias with regard to gender, religion or race, they could prove to be excellent tools for use in multicultural school settings to obtain emotional information that may affect learning. Teachers can use information gathered from the scale to evaluate students who are likely to put effort into school work as opposed to those who are likely to give up. For example, a student who is assessed with the Snyder Hope Scale to have low hope according to Snyder's model is likely to give up easily and may lack a goal for being in school thus leading to higher risk of dropping out. The scales in this context can be used as screeners in identifying students who are at risk. Likewise, in settings where counselling services are available, the hope scales can be used with individuals or in groups.

Hope Stories in Narrative Approaches to Counselling

By using photographs in researching hope with Tanzanian teenagers, I was provided with the opportunity of *hearing* and *seeing* the teenagers' stories of hope. In telling their hope stories, I was offered a window into the current life experiences of these youth. These stories of hope cannot be separated from the actual life stories of the participants. The power of photo-assisted interviews to evoke personal stories renders it a useful technique that can be used in counselling children and adolescents. One particular theory that could benefit from incorporating photo-assisted interviews is narrative therapy.

The narrative approach uses the story metaphor as a therapeutic tool in counselling. The underlying assumption is that meaning is constructed socially and therefore people develop stories as a way of understanding and making sense of their experiences (Drewery & Winslade, 1997). In this sense, our stories contain our identities and determine which experiences we select for expression and performance in daily life. In counselling, clients are invited to engage in a journey of co-exploration in search of abilities that are hidden by the presenting problem. Through active collaboration with the counsellor, clients begin to reconstruct something of substance and value as the clients rediscover past experiences that are favourable (Monk, 1997). Monk maintains that in the narrative approach clients are viewed as victors rather than victims and in telling their stories, clients change.

Simply put, narrative approaches can utilize photo-assisted interviews to aid clients' stories. Since this theory requires an optimistic orientation, counsellors can use an exploration of clients' hope through photo-assisted interviews which in turn can be used therapeutically to help clients reconstruct their life stories. In addition, the narrative approach is language laden and therefore visual images from photographs can complement and enrich conversations. Furthermore, the act of viewing photographs about a client's life aids in *externalizing* the problem (using language that implies the client is separate from the oppressive behaviour), a technique used in narrative therapy to help empower clients to "fight" back and in doing so begin to reconstruct their life stories where they are the agents in their lives as opposed to victims.

Therefore, it would be interesting to explore hope using photo-assisted

interviews within the context of narrative therapy. In this way, hope can be used intentionally to help individuals deal with difficulties in their lives especially with non-verbal clients and young people who may lack the expressive abilities required in narrative therapy.

Hope as a Protective Factor

A recent area of research with children is that of identifying protective factors in childrens' lives. Protective factors are characteristics in an individuals' world that mitigate against the development of psychopathology despite the existence of risk factors (Grossman et. al., 1992; Rutter, 1987). Protective factors, categorized to include individual, familial, and social environments, are generally considered to contribute to resilience in children who are at risk. Internal protective factors include self-esteem and locus of control; familial include a close relationship with at least one parent; and societal often include an important figure such as a teacher (Brooks, 1994).

It is interesting that in researching hope the above three categories of protective factors were referred to by the students in this study. Teenagers identified important community members as representations of hope to them. Almost every student who was interviewed identified an individual or individuals who are important in their hope experience for various reasons -- such as a caring teacher, a concerned parent, a loving friend, or an inspiring neighbour. In the words of one participant who identified her brother as a representation of hope *"He* [her brother] *said I could do it* [pass the school entrance exam] *and I did*!" These words resonate hope for this student since her

brother's belief in her ability encouraged her to believe in herself and subsequently build her self-esteem. What is the relationship between hope and resilience, or hope and self-esteem? Is hope a protective factor? If so, in which category does hope emerge? Perhaps hope permeates all three categories? These questions can be addressed in future research.

Closing Thoughts

Hope, indeed, is important in the lives of school-age children. This study has strengthened my hope for a number of reasons. First, I realize now that young people do understand the language of hope. Although hope may seem a difficult concept for children to grasp, the youth in this research, and children I have spoken to over the past year, have understood the emotion I am referring to. They seem to identify quickly with it. Perhaps because of "hope's" use in daily language, children can relate to it more that other concepts such as self-esteem and resilience. Children's ability to relate to the concept of hope makes it useful for researching and understanding the experiences of children, and also to enhance our knowledge of hope and its relation to resilience, self-esteem and other important emotions affecting the lives of children at risk.

Second, I believe that further research in hope and its relationship to resilience and self-esteem in young people will result in implementing appropriate ways to intervene, prevent risk, and enhance hope in children who are in difficult circumstances. These circumstances often place them at risk of developing behavioral

and emotional problems. Finally, this study has confirmed to me that the use of visual materials to engage and enrich interaction with children is not only useful in counselling and teaching, but can be used similarly and effectively in research. The next step I would like to take is to research hope and explore effective interventions with groups of children who have been specifically identified as at risk. I believe we need to hear their voices and see the world through their eyes in order to translate research into interventions. Talking about their hope by using visual images such as photography can bring us closer to achieving this end.

As a researcher interested in understanding and improving the lives of children at risk, I believe I must begin with the youth whose lives represent the future of our nations. Too often research and intervention decisions are made based on "our" beliefs of what is important to "young people". Young people *can* participate in the development of interventions affecting their lives. This begins by conducting child-centred research studies. In taking the risk and challenge of exploring creative research methods with children, we can meet our participants where they are at -- both cognitively and behavioraly. In doing so, we can enter their worlds of experience. For it is within children's world of experience, worlds that include hope, resilience, and self-esteem, that solutions to improve their lives begin. Research that takes this into consideration truly becomes hopeful research. For in the process of researching, hope is being enhanced for all who participate. In this way research begins and ends with hope - - hope that change will occur even as a result of the effort put into the research process itself.

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